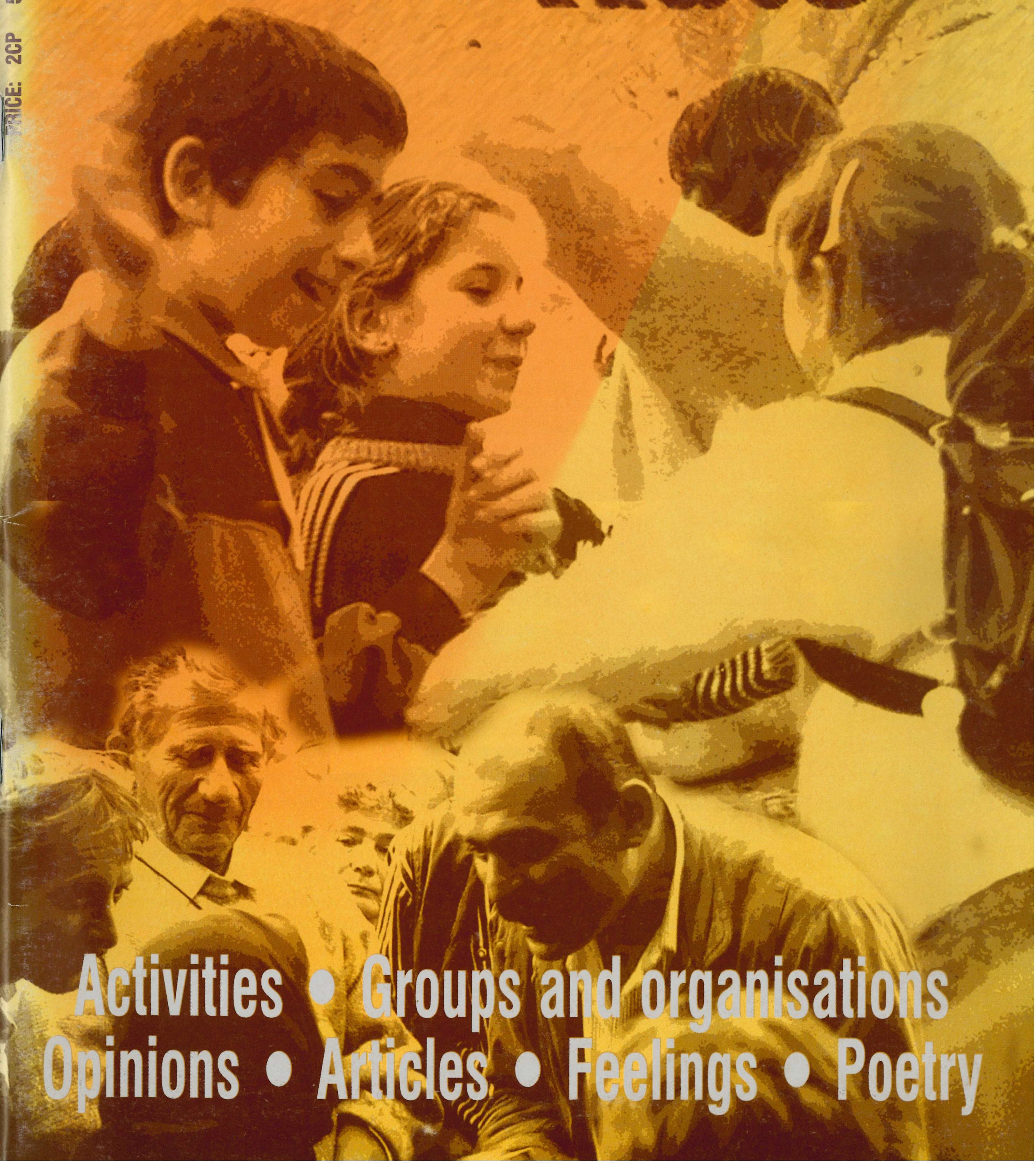
Hade
Χάτε

BICOMMUNAL MAGAZINE OF CYPRUS • ISSUE No 0 JANUARY 1998

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Activities • Groups and organisations
Opinions • Articles • Feelings • Poetry

Editors' note

The articles express the opinion of the authors.

This pilot issue is in English for technical and other practical reasons.

As from our next issue, however, Greek and Turkish will be the main languages of Hàde. Every effort will be made to provide English translations or summaries. We would therefore appreciate it if future authors send us their articles in their mother tongue with an English translation wherever possible. Obviously articles written originally in English are also welcome.

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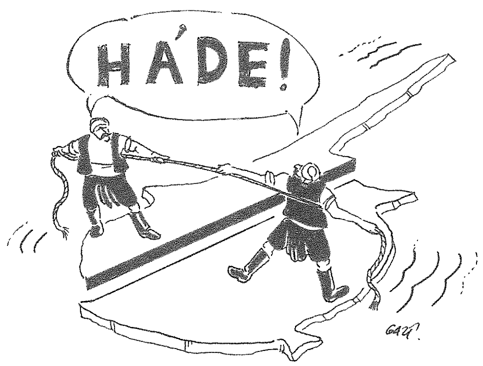
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"Do you think there will be a solution?" This question is blowing in the wind in Cyprus. It is like waiting for Godot. Will it come, will it come one day? This reflects a psychology; an understanding that a solution is something which will come one day from outer space. Something which will come with the touch of a magic stick. Something which will be decided by others one night that we will hear about it the next day. The roots of this understanding lies in the Cyprus history where the decisions for changes are usually taken by outsiders. It lies in the fact that the Cypriots have never been the subjects of their historical changes but instead they were always the objects. Everybody is now very frustrated about what's happening (or rather what's not happening) in Cyprus. There were instances when all the country was alert and the expectation for a solution on the table was high but every time the result was a disappointment. Cyprus eventually became a place of nuisance for the diplomats. Perhaps a place where they spend the worst time in their careers. A place from where they return home without achievements.

Now there is a new hope. The citizen groups putting efforts not specifically to a political solution but rather to remove the obstacles to the solution started doing an enormous work. Bi-communal groups meeting in the buffer zone have started creating a new culture in Cyprus.

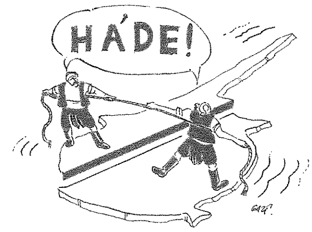
After the division of the island and even before the division there were many attempts from citizens to start contacts with the other community for rapprochement. Intellectuals, artists, trade unions, women groups, business people etc tried to meet and bring some positive changes to our common country. Unfortunately the general political atmosphere has always been an obstacle for continuity. Permissions are not regularly granted for these meetings.

Hàde will try to reflect as much as it can of what is happening in bi-communal groups which are now multiplying and bringing the new hope to Cyprus with the new culture they have created.

Can you feel the positive energy in the title of the magazine? "Hàde!" which means let's go, let's do something. A common expression used by both communities in Cyprus. A very Cypriot word different from its uses in Turkey and Greece. Hàde is a word for start. It belongs to those who wish to work, create and share together. It belongs to those who are already trying to do this in spite of all the difficulties.

Hàde owes its existence to the efforts of all those who are giving their energy for a peaceful future in Cyprus. This is the magazine for all of us. The magazine of those who believe and work for a peaceful solution in Cyprus. This project of publishing a bi-communal magazine was always there; it was thought and planned by many and now this is the achievement which came out with a lot of effort and difficulties. The Hàde team of this pilot issue is ready to receive any comments or criticism and urges you to pass your ideas either by writing or contacting the team by other means. Hàde pages are open to all those who are willing to offer a hand. This is a voluntary effort by a small group of individuals and the result of very difficult work. We welcome everybody willing to join and help us by any means. This could be by writing, selling, helping for distribution, contributing financially and so on. Do contact us.

Hàde makes this big call to you. Hàde! Let's do something! Let's walk towards the Cyprus we wish to have! Let's open our hearts!



"Νομίζετε ότι θα υπάρξει λύση;" Η ερώτηση αυτή ανεμίζει στον αέρα στην Κύπρο. Είναι σα να περιμένεις τον Γκοντό. Θα έρθει άραγε, θάρθει κάποια μέρα; Αυτό αντανακλά μια ψυχολογία. Μια αίσθηση ότι λύση είναι κάτι που θα έρθει μια μέρα από το διάστημα. Κάτι το οποίο θάρθει με το άγγιγμα ενός μαγικού ραβδιού. Κάτι που θα αποφασίσουν κάποιοι άλλοι μια νύχτα και που εμείς θα το μάθουμε το άλλο πρωί. Οι ρίζες αυτής της αίσθησης βρίσκονται στην ιστορία της Κύπρου, όπου οι αποφάσεις για αλλαγές παίρνονται συνήθως από τους έξω. Βρίσκεται στο γεγονός ότι, οι Κύπριοι δεν ήταν ποτέ τα υποκείμενα των ιστορικών τους αλλαγών αλλά πάντα τα αντικείμενα. Τώρα όλοι ανησυχούν για το τί συμβαίνει (ή μάλλον για το τί δεν συμβαίνει) στην Κύπρο. Υπήρξαν στιγμές, όπου όλη η χώρα ήταν σε συναγερμό και η προσμονή για μια λύση ήταν μεγάλη. Όμως κάθε φορά το αποτέλεσμα ήταν μια απαγοήτευση. Τελικά η Κύπρος έγινε ένας μπελάς για τους διπλωμάτες. Ίσως ένας τόπος όπου περνούν τη χειρότερη στιγμή της καριέρας τους. Ένας τόπος από τον οποίο γυρίζουν πίσω στη χώρα τους χωρίς να έχουν πετύχει τίποτα.

Τώρα υπάρχει μια καινούρια ελπίδα. Οι ομάδες πολιτών που κάνουν προσπάθειες, όχι ειδικά για μια πολιτική λύση αλλά περισσότερο για να διώξουν τα εμπόδια που μπαίνουν, άρχισαν να κάνουν μια σημαντική δουλειά. Οι δικοινοτικές ομάδες που συναντιούνται στη νεκρή ζώνη άρχισαν να δημιουργούν μια νέα κουλτούρα στην Κύπρο. Μετά από το μοίρασμα της Κύπρου στα δυο υπήρξαν πολλές προσπάθειες από πολίτες για επαφές με την άλλη κοινότητα με στόχο την επαναπροσέγγιση. Διανοούμενοι, καλλιτέχνες, συνδικαλιστικές οργανώσεις, γυναικείες ομάδες, επαγγελματίες κλπ συναντιούνται για να φέρουν κάποιες θετικές αλλαγές στην κοινή μας πατρίδα. Δυστυχώς η γενική πολιτική ατμόσφαιρα στέκεται συχνά εμπόδιο για μια σταθερή συνεχή επαφή. Άδειες γι' αυτές τις συναντήσεις δε δίνονται πάντα κανονικά.

Στο ΧΑΤΕ θα προσπαθήσουμε όσο μπορούμε να αντανακλάσουμε την κατάσταση που υπάρχει όσον αφορά τις δικοινοτικές ομάδες, οι οποίες όσο πάει πολλαπλασιάζονται φέρνοντας καινούρια ελπίδα στην Κύπρο.

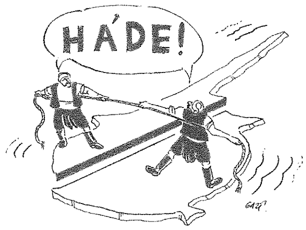
Μπορείτε να νοιώσετε τη θετική ενέργεια στον τίτλο του περιοδικού; "Χάτε!" Που σημαίνει "ελάτε, πάμε, ας κάνουμε κάτι". Μια κοινή έκφραση που χρησιμοποιείται και στις δυο κοινότητες στην Κύπρο. Μια πολύ κυπριακή λέξη που διαφέρει από τη χρήση της στην Τουρκία και την Ελλάδα. Χάτε είναι μια λέξη για ξεκίνημα. Ανήκει σ' αυτούς που θέλουν να δουλέψουν, να δημιουργήσουν και να μοιραστούν μαζί. Ανήκει σ' αυτούς που τα κάνουν όλ' αυτά πέρα από όλες τις δυσκολίες.

Το Χάτε οφείλει την ύπαρξή του στις προσπάθειες όλων αυτών που δίνουν την ενέργειά τους για ένα ειρηνικό μέλλον στην Κύπρο. Είναι το περιοδικό όλων μας. Το περιοδικό αυτών που πιστεύουν και δουλεύουν για μια ειρηνική λύση στην Κύπρο.

Η ιδέα ενός δικοινοτικού περιοδικού υπήρχε από πάντα. Το σκεφτήκαμε, το σχεδιάσαμε πολλοί κι αυτό το τεύχος μηδέν που κρατάτε στα χέρια σας τώρα, είναι αυτό που πετύχαμε με μεγάλη προσπάθεια και μετά από πολλές δυσκολίες. Είμαστε έτοιμοι να δεχτούμε τα σχόλια και τις κριτικές σας. Σας καλούμε να μας στείλετε τις ιδέες σας είτε γραπτώς είτε επικοινωνώντας με τα μέλη της εκδοτικής ομάδας του περιοδικού. Οι σελίδες του Χάτε είναι ανοικτές σ' όλους όσους θέλουν να προσφέρουν. Είναι μια εθελοντική προσπάθεια μιας μικρής ομάδας ατόμων και αποτέλεσμα μιας πολύ δύσκολης δουλειάς. Είσαστε ευπρόσδεκτοι όλοι όσοι θέλετε να βοηθήσετε, με οποιοδήποτε τρόπο: γράφοντας, αγοράζοντας το περιοδικό, βοηθώντας στη διάθεσή του, προσφέροντας οικονομική βοήθεια. Επικοινωνείστε μαζί μας.

Το Χάτε σας καλεί! Χάτε! Ελάτε, ας κάνουμε κάτι. Ας προχωρήσουμε για μια Κύπρο όπως τη θέλουμε να είναι! Ας ανοίξουμε τις καρδιές μας!

CONTENTS



"Sence bir çözüm olacak mı?" Bu soru Kıbrıs semalarında uçuşup duruyor. Godoyu beklemek gibi bir şey." Gelecek mi? Birgün gelecek mi?" Bu bir psikolojiyi çözümün bir gün uzaklardan bir yerden geleceği gibi bir anlayışı yansıtıyor.Sanki büyülü değneğin dokunuşuyla gelecek çözüm. Sanki başkaları tatafından bir gün karar alınacak ve bizim ertesi gün haberimiz olacak. Bu anlayışın kökleri kararların hep yabancılar tarafından alındığı Kıbrıs tarihinde yatıyor. Kıbrıslıların hiçbir zaman kendi tarihlerinin özneleri olmamalarında tarihte hep bir nesne olmalarında yatıyor.

Şu sıralar herkes olan bitenden ya da olamayıp bitemeyenden bıkmış usanmış durumda.Masada bir çözüm umudunun yüksek olduğu herkesin heyecanla tetikte beklediği günler çok yaşandı ama sonuç hep hüsran oldu. Sonunda Kıbrıs yabancı diplomatlar için de bir baş belası belki de meslek yaşamlarının en kötü günlerini geçirdikleri geriye başarısızlıkla döndükleri bir yer haline geldi.

Şimdi ise yeni bir umut var. Politik çözümün kendinden çok önündeki engellerle uğraşmaya ağırlık veren sivil gruplar önemli işler başarmakta. Bugün ara bölgede buluşmaya devam eden iki toplumlu barış grupları Kıbrıs'ta yeni bir kültürün temellerini atıyorlar.

Adanın bölünmesinden sonra ve hatta daha da önceleri diğer toplumla ilişkiler kurma ve yakınlaşma konusunda pek çok sivil girişim olmuştu. Aydınlar sanatçılar sendikacılar kadın grupları vb. buluşmaya çalışmışlar ve ortak ülkemize bazı olumlu değişiklikler getirmek için çaba harcamışlardı. Ne yazık ki genel politik ortam devamlılık için ciddi bir engeldi. Bu buluşmalar için izin verilmiyordu.Belli bir süre izinlerin bir oranda rahatlamasını ise diğer toplumla ilişki talep etme mücadelesini ısrarla sürdürenlere borçluyuz.Bugün ise yeniden bir ambargo ile karşı karşıyayız.İzinlerin yeniden kaldırılması doludizgin giden iki toplumlu gruplar icin büyük bir düş kırıklığı oldu.

Hade elinden geldiğince her geçen gün sayıları çoğalan ve oluşturmakta oldukları yeni kültürle Kıbrısa yeni bir umut getiren iki toplumlu gruplarda neler oldup bittiğini yansıtmaya çalışacak.

Derginin başlığındaki olumlu enerjiyi fark ettiniz mi ? Hade! Birşeyler yapalım harekete geçelim anlamında bir ünlem. Kıbrıstaki iki toplumun birlikte kullandığı bir ifade. Türkiye ve Yunanistandaki kullanımlarından farklı ama adada ortak kullanılan çok Kıbrıslı bir sözcük. Hade bir başlangıç sözü...Birlikte çalışmak yaratmak ve paylaşmak isteyenlere ait bir söz. Bunu şu sıralar bütün zorluklara rağmen yapanlara ait bir söz.

Hade ortaya çıkışını Kıbrısta barışçıl bir gelecek için bügüne dek inatla çaba gösterenlere borçludur. Bu hepimizin dergisidir. Kıbrısa barışın geleceğine inananlar ve bunun için çaba gösterenlerin dergisi...

İki toplumlu bir dergi çıkarma projesi her zaman ortadaydı. Pek çok grup tarafından düşünülmüş planlanmış ve tasarlanmıştı. İşte sonunda bunu da başardık! Hem de büyük zorluklar ve büyük çabalarla... Bu deneme sayısını gerçekleştiren Hade ekibi sizlerden gelecek her türlü yorum ve eleştiriye açıktır . Görüşlerinizi yazarak ya da başka yollarla bize iletiniz.

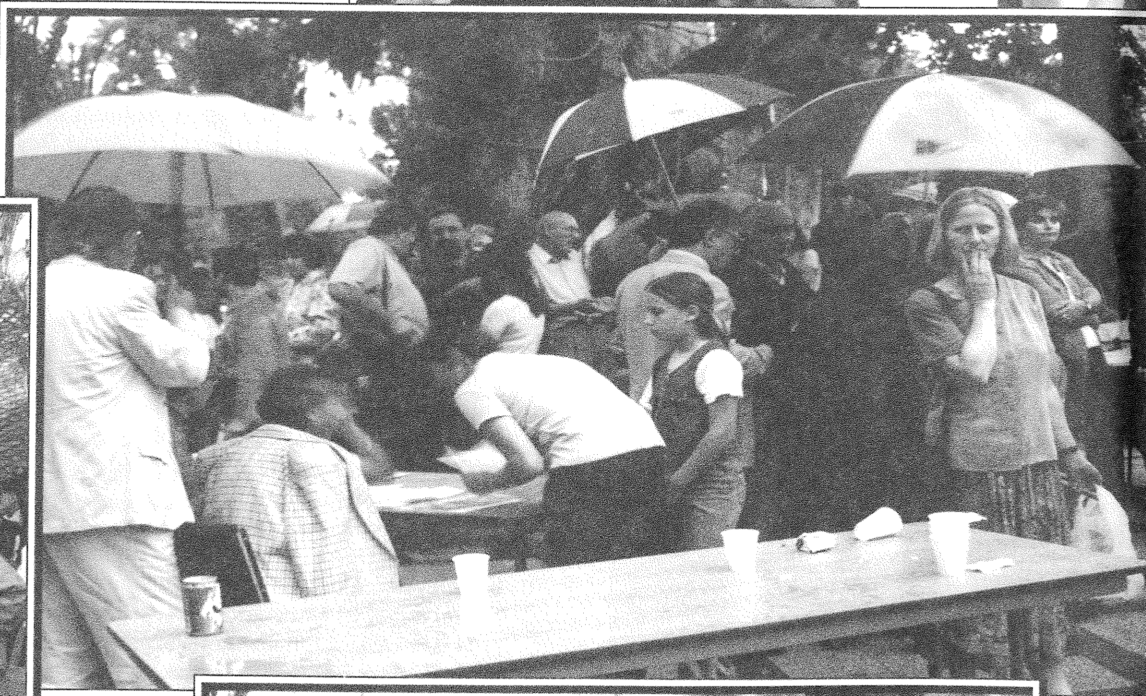
Hade sayfaları yardımcı olmak isteyen herkese açıktır. Elinizdeki bu deneme sayısı bir grup insanın gönüllü ve zorlu çalışmasının ürünüdür. Aramıza katılmak isteyen ve bize yazarak derginin dağıtım ve satışına katkıda bulunarak ya da maddi destek sağlayarak ya da başka türlü yardımcı olmak isteyen herkese kapımız açık. Lütfen bizi arayınız.

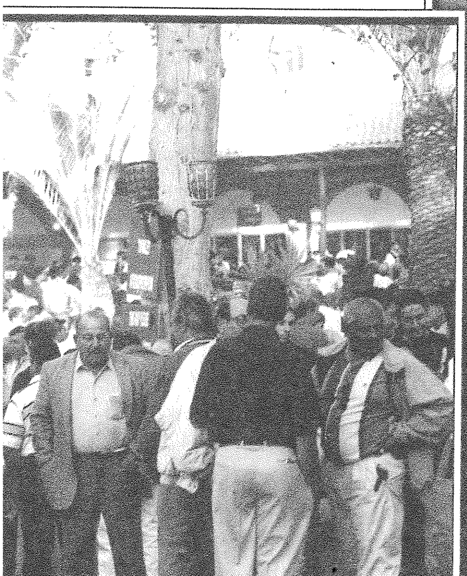
Hade size büyük bir çağrı yapıyor. Hade! Birşeyler yapalım! Hepbirlikte sahip olmak istediğimiz Kıbrısa doğru yürüyelim! Yüreklerimizi sevgiye açalım!

OPEN DAY

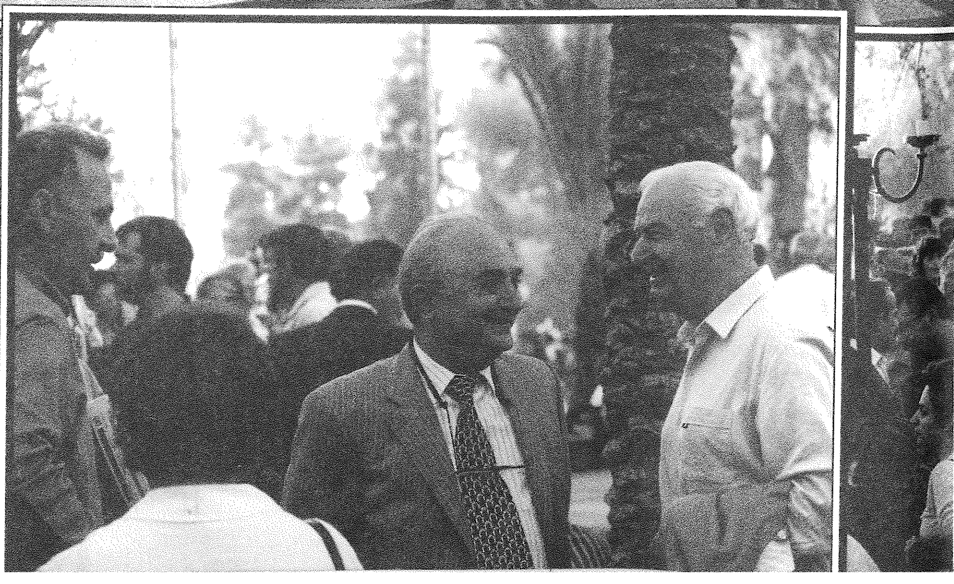


Saturday, 27 of September, 1997, Nicosia.
OPEN DAY was organised by the UN and several Diplomatic Missions in Cyprus that support the work of the bicommunal conflict resolution groups or any other group working for peace in Cyprus. The aim of the OPEN DAY was to bring together the citizens of the two communities at Ledra Palace Hotel, where all the conflict resolution groups presented their work. A very special event, an important gathering. Young and old people from both sides of the island had the opportunity to meet and talk with the people working in these bicommunal groups. Ask questions, receive information. There were stands presenting through photos the work of some groups, editions presenting the work of others and leaflets announcing our work. Yes, the leaflet we prodused as H'de team announcing the first bicommunal magazine was distributed during this open area event. End of September, a mass gathering in the yards of Ledra Palace Hotel.
And it was raining like hell! Our stands couldn't stand anymore the rain. But the people stayed there until the end. Talking and dancing in the rain.

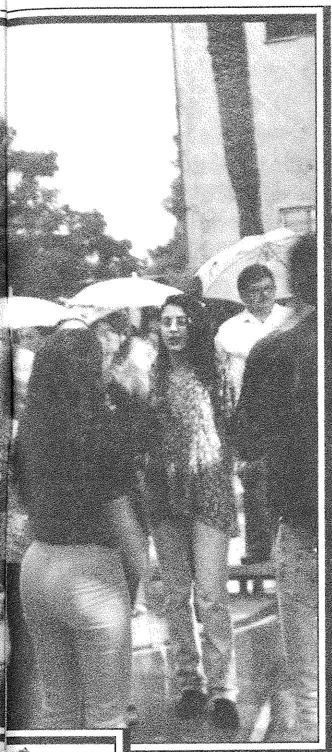
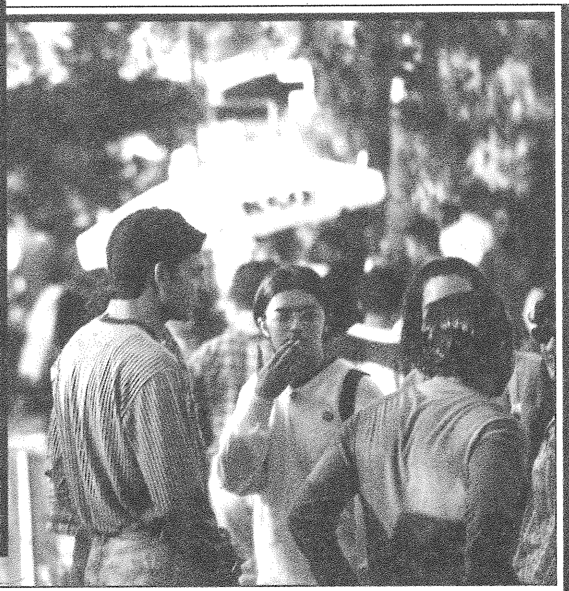
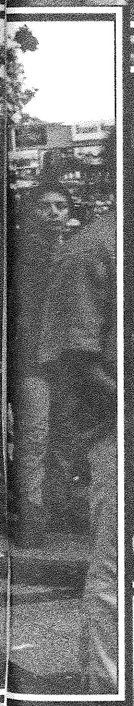


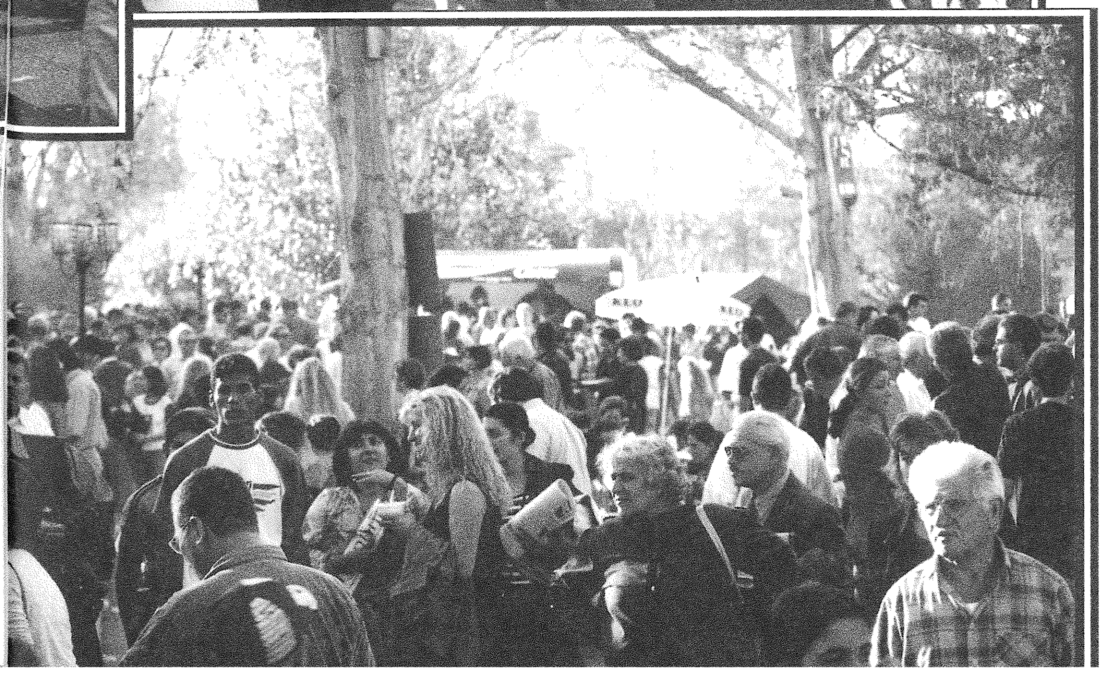






UN DAY



Meeting again after years of imposed separation...
Thousands of Greek and Turkish Cypriots gathered on Saturday the 25th of October in the UN-controlled Ledra Palace Hotel in divided Nicosia, for an open event to mark the 52nd anniversary of the UN.
There was free food and drink prepared by the various UN contingents and opportunities to sit in a UN helicopter, fire-engines and armoured vehicles. Games, music and dance completed the event.
What mattered most, however, was the chance to meet again with long-lost friends from the other side.
"I haven't seen Mustafa since before the war, he looks older but I still recognised him at once," one middle-aged Greek Cypriot said, hugging his old friend.
Most of the crowd were Turkish Cypriots, who seemed to enjoy a lot the few hours they were allowed to spend along with Greek Cypriots, known and unknown to them. Greek Cypriots, who were less in numbers, shared exactly the same feelings and had the chance to talk to known and unknown Turkish Cypriots, asking them mostly of the living conditions in the north.
Turkish Cypriots when asked expressed the fear that if no solution is found in the next few years, there will not be enough of them to share the benefits of a united Cyprus along with Greek Cypriots.
An outside observer could not be absolutely sure who were the Greek Cypriots and who the Turkish Cypriots. They were all children of "Mother Cyprus".
In the open event you could easily spot politicians from both sides; those politicians who are very much in favour of bi-communal activities and events. They spoke of the need for the two communities to come together, to build bridges of communication, to overcome their fears learning from the mistakes of the past and to contribute to the efforts for finding a just and lasting solution to the overdue Cyprus problem.
An UNFICYP spokesperson said the idea behind this and other bi-communal events was to give "people of all ages a chance to meet and reach out to the other community in a true spirit of the UN".

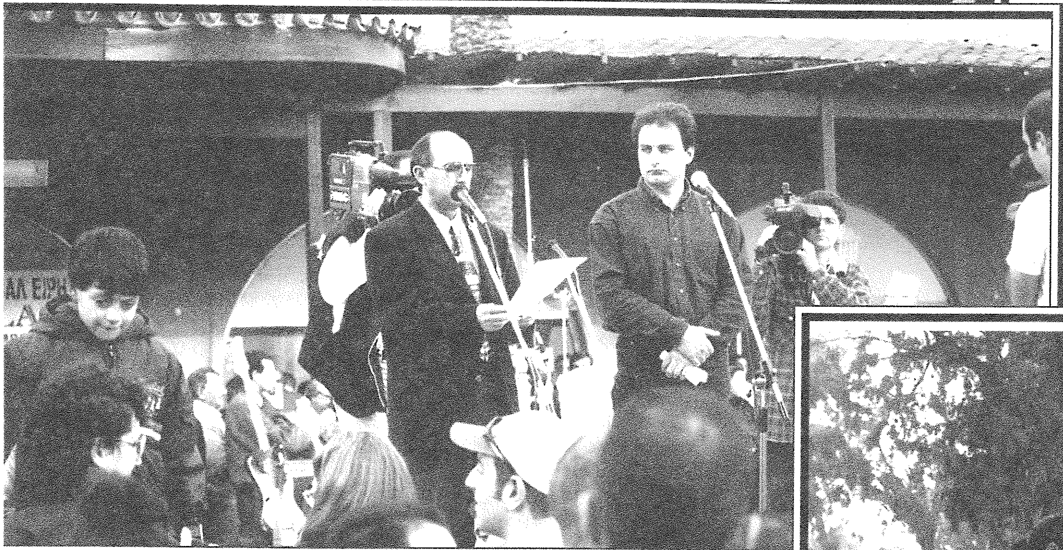


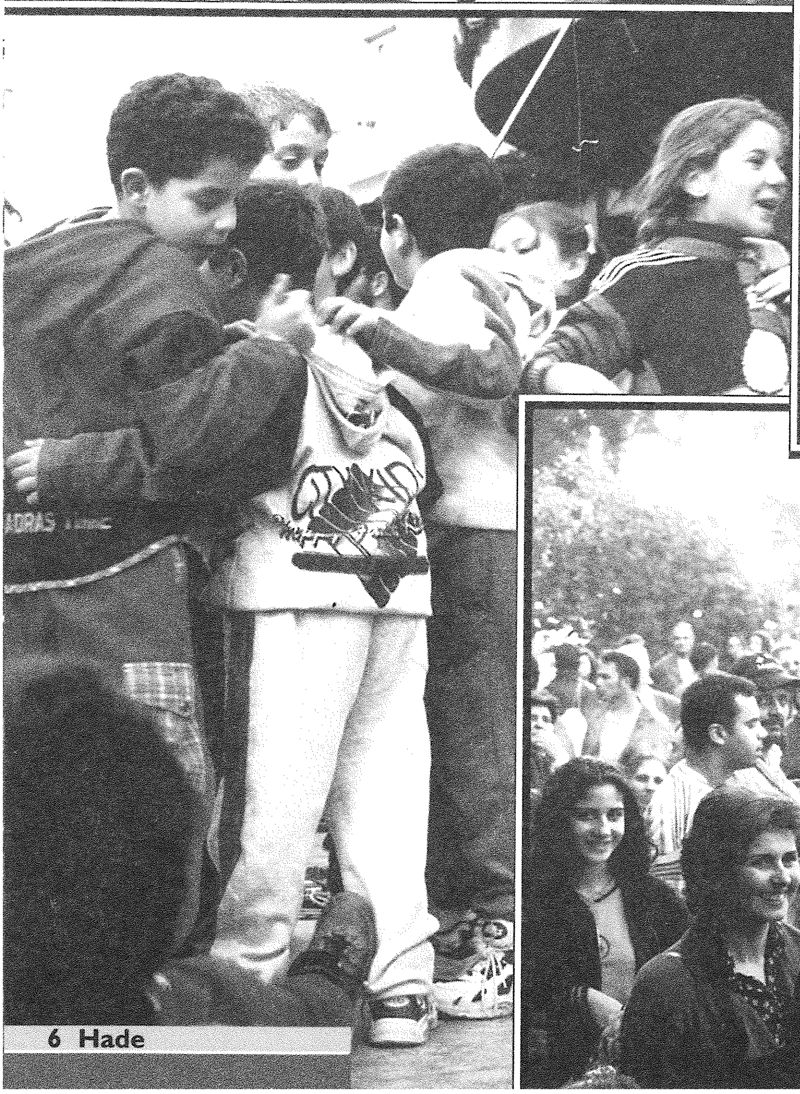
PEACE FES

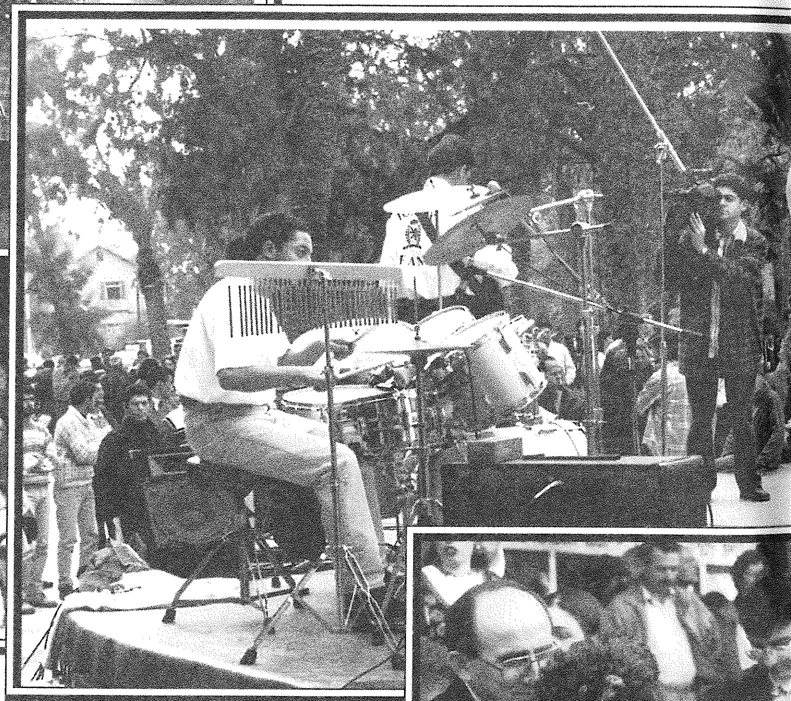
FORWARD TO A COMMON

Nicosia 29th of November 1997. Place, Ledra Palace Hotel. A festival for peace brought together Greek and Turkish Cypriots and united them to a common manifestation of friendship. A festival for peace which followed the two previous events (Open day and UN day), organised by the UN. A festival for peace where old friends met again and where new friendships were created.

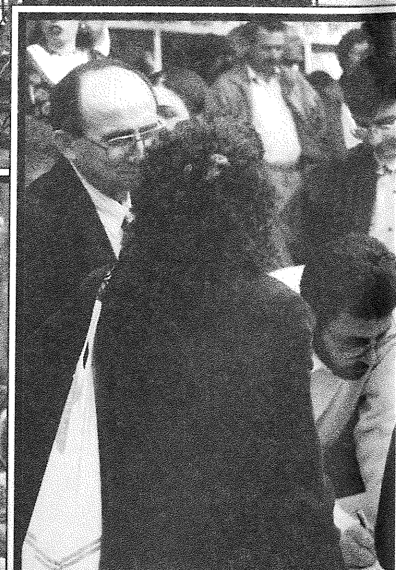
"A historic event" said the representatives of the participating organisations. A manifestation of a historic political significance is what we all sensed. For the first time in 40 years we, Turkish and Greek Cypriots, organised such a common manifestation, such a mass event on our own initiative and our own forces. And this despite the







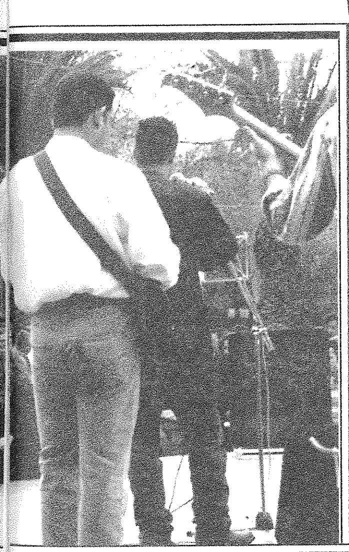


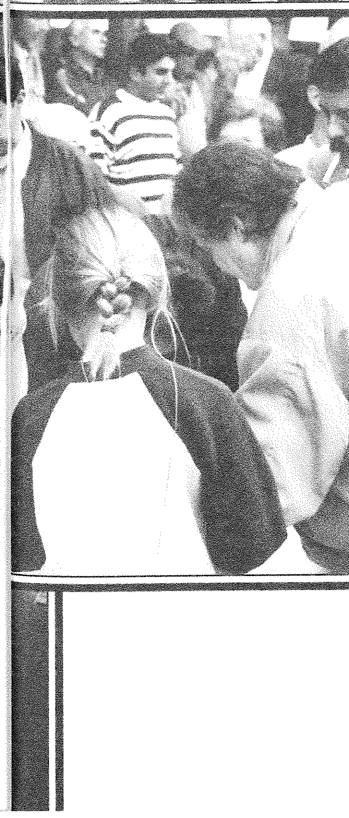


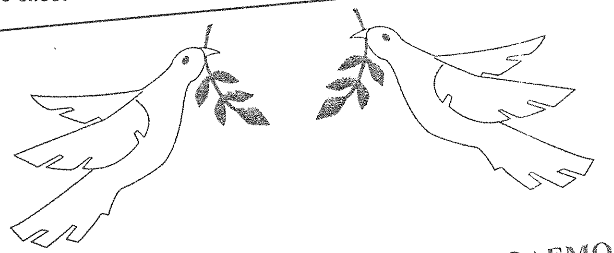
TIVAL

HOMELAND

difficulties we had to face, beyond the obstacles we finally overcame.
A peace festival. Organised by 32 organisations in Cyprus, 14 T/C and 18 G/C. A peace festival open to everybody. Open to every Cypriot longing and struggling for peace and a common homeland. Hours of discussion were spent in several meetings to deal with all the problems in front of us to finally be able to come to this day. Not counting the cigarettes that everybody (smokers and non-smokers) smoked during these meetings. We had only two weeks to work and to call the people longing for peace in Cyprus to be there at the Ledra Palace Hotel. Common posters against war were circulated in both sides after so many years.
29th of November 1997. Ledra Palace Hotel, Nicosia. The Peace Festival was then a fact. Thirty two organisations in Cyprus. Four thousand people. 4000 Cypriots gathered together to express their feelings for peace. During the event the representatives of the 32 organisations belonging to the Forum for Peace signed a common declaration. The declaration was printed both in greek and turkish on the same sheet and was distributed to thousands of people.
4000 cypriots came to the Peace Festival to meet old or make new friends. To exchange thoughts or ideas, to speak about their daily life, their occupations their problems, to hold hands or to embrace, to share feelings or hopes. "We want to live together peacefully in a common homeland". Smiles... touching, singing, clapping hands, dancing, ...laughters...
Peace Festival. 29th of November 1997. Ledra Palace Hotel, Nicosia. 4000 Cypriots made the dream come true.







SAVAŞA HAYIR!!!
BARIŞ TALEP EDİYORUZ!!!
HAYDİ ORTAK ÜLKEYE DOĞRU!!!

Biz aşağıda imzaları bulunan Kıbrıslı Rum ve Türk Örgütlerin temsilcileri. Her zamankinden daha fazla barışa ihtiyaç duyulduğunun bilincindeyiz. Biz aynı zamanda barışın beklemekle sağlanamayacağının da bilincindeyiz.

Bundan dolayıdır ki kendi gayret ve insiyatifimizle, ortak mücadele için güçlerimizi birleştirme kararı aldık.

Yabancı güçler ile yerli şövenlerin neden olduğu toplumlararası ihtilaf ve acıların tarihçesinin bilincindeyiz.

Biz aynı zamanda, askeri faaliyetlerin tırmandırılmasının, silahlanma ve milliyetçilikteki artışın ada halkımıza ölümcül tehlikeler, yeni ihtilaflar, savaş, yeni kan ve gözyaşı getireceğini bilmekteyiz.

Biz, halkımızı, her türlü önyargıları bir yana bırakarak barış çabalarına katılmaya çağırıyoruz. Milliyetçi güçlerin ülkemizde yeni felaketlere neden olmasına müsaade etmemeliyiz.

Aksi takdirde halkımızın güvencesizliği ve acıları, ayrıca toplu göçlü devam edecektir.

Bize yardımcı olmak isteyen herkese çağırıyoruz: Kıbrıslı Türk ve Rumlar olarak, özgürce görüşme hakkımızı sağlama çabalarımızda bizlere destek olun.

Ortak etkinlikler düzenlerken, bir kez daha barışa olan gereksinimin Kıbrıslıların kendi sorunlarını ve gereksinimini duydukları ortak vatanı oluşturacak yeteneğe sahip olduklarının altını çizmek istiyoruz.

Gelin statüko'ya, silahlanmaya ve savaşa karşı mücadelede birleşelim.

Gelin en yüksek sesimizle haykıralım;

"SAVAŞA HAYIR! BARIŞ TALEP EDİYORUZ! HAYDİ ORTAK ÜLKEYE DOĞRU!"

ΟΧΙ ΣΤΟΝ ΠΟΛΕΜΟ!
ΑΠΑΙΤΟΥΜΕ ΕΙΡΗΝΗ!
ΕΜΠΡΟΣ ΓΙΑ ΜΙΑ ΚΟΙΝΗ ΠΑΤΡΙΔΑ!

Εμείς, οι αντιπρόσωποι ελληνοκυπριακών και τουρκοκυπριακών οργανώσεων που υπογράφουν αυτή την κοινή διακήρυξη, έχουμε επίγνωση ότι η ειρήνη στην Κύπρο είναι αναγκαία όσο ποτέ. Γνωρίζουμε επίσης ότι η ειρήνη δεν επιτυγχάνεται με το να καθόμαστε και να την περιμένουμε. Γι' αυτό αποφασίσαμε με δικές μας πρωτοβουλίες και ενέργειες, να συνενώσουμε τις δυνάμεις μας για ένα κοινό αγώνα.

Γνωρίζουμε καλά την ιστορία των διακοινοτικών συγκρούσεων και των δεινών που προκάλεσαν οι ξένες δυνάμεις και οι ντόπιοι σοβινιστές.

Γνωρίζουμε επίσης ότι η κλιμάκωση της στρατιωτικής δραστηριότητας και η έξαρση του εθνικισμού, συνιστούν θανάσιμο κίνδυνο για νέες συγκρούσεις και πολέμους, για νέες αιματοχυσίες και δάκρυα για το λαό του νησιού μας.

Απευθύνουμε έκκληση στο λαό μας να παραμερίσει κάθε προκατάληψη και να συστρατευτεί στον αγώνα για την ειρήνη. Δεν πρέπει να επιτρέψουμε στις εθνικιστικές δυνάμεις να προκαλέσουν νέες καταστροφές στη χώρα μας. Σε αντίθετη περίπτωση, η ανασφάλεια και η ταλαιπωρία του λαού μας θα συνεχιστούν, το ίδιο και η μαζική μετανάστευση.

Απευθύνουμε έκκληση σ' όλους όσοι είναι διατεθειμένοι να βοηθήσουν. Ενισχύστε τις προσπάθειες μας για εξάλειψη όλων των εμποδίων που καταστρατηγούν το δικαίωμα των Ελληνοκυπρίων και των Τουρκοκυπρίων να συναντιώνται ελεύθερα!

Μέσα από τις κοινές εκδηλώσεις που οργανώνουμε, θέλουμε για μια ακόμα φορά να υπογραμμίσουμε την ανάγκη για ειρήνη, την ανάγκη για λύση του Κυπριακού και την ανάγκη να οικοδομήσουμε μια κοινή πατρίδα.

Ας ενωθούμε όλοι στον αγώνα ενάντια στα τετελεσμένα, ενάντια στην στρατικοποίηση και τον πόλεμο.

Ας βροντοφωνάξουμε όλοι μαζί:

«ΟΧΙ ΣΤΟΝ ΠΟΛΕΜΟ! ΑΠΑΙΤΟΥΜΕ ΕΙΡΗΝΗ! ΕΜΠΡΟΣ ΓΙΑ ΜΙΑ ΚΟΙΝΗ ΠΑΤΡΙΔΑ!»

KTÖS, ΠΕΟ, ÇAĞ-SEN, ΕΔΟΝ, BES, EKA, EL-SEN, ΠΟΓΟ, PETROL-SEN, ΑΡΙΣΤΕΡΗ ΠΤΕΡΥΓΑ, TIP-IŞ, ΕΡΓΑΤΙΚΗ ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΙΑ, PEY-SEN, ΚΕΝΤΡΟ ΕΙΡΗΝΗΣ, ΚΙΝΗΣΗ ΕΝΑΝΤΙΑ ΣΤΟΝ ΠΟΛΕΜΟ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΕΘΝΙΚΙΣΜΟ, KIBRIS'ta SOSYALİST GERÇEK, SOSYALİST KIBRIS HAREKETİ, ΕΝΩΣΗ ΛΟΓΟΤΕΧΝΩΝ ΚΥΠΡΟΥ, YAZIN EMEKÇİLERİ DERNEĞİ, ΝΕΟΚΥΠΡΙΑΚΟΣ ΣΥΝΔΕΣΜΟΣ, ΓΥΝΑΙΚΕΙΑ ΟΡΓΑΝΩΣΗ ΕΝΩΜΕΝΩΝ ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΩΝ, BARIŞ VE FEDERAL ÇÖZÜM İÇİN TOPLUMSAL VARLIK HAREKETİ, ΠΑΓΚΥΠΡΙΟ ΣΥΜΒΟΥΛΙΟ ΕΙΡΗΝΗΣ, DEMOKRASİ ve İNSAN HAKLARI HAREKETİ, ΠΕΡΙΒΑΛΛΟΝΤΙΚΗ ΚΙΝΗΣΗ ΚΥΠΡΟΥ, G.Ü.S.A.D, ΠΡΟΟΔΕΥΤΙΚΗ ΚΙΝΗΣΗ ΦΟΙΤΗΤΩΝ, ΣΥΝΔΕΣΜΟΣ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΩΝ ΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΟΝΩΝ, ΣΥΝΔΕΣΜΟΣ ΑΝΤΙΣΤΑΣΙΑΚΩΝ ΛΕΜΕΣΟΥ, ΦΟΡΟΥΜ ΓΙΑ ΤΗ ΦΙΛΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΗ ΣΥΝΕΡΓΑΣΙΑ Ε/Κ - Τ/Κ ΛΟΝΔΙΝΟΥ.

UNOFFICIAL BICOMMUNAL CONTACTS AND CITIZENS' (TRACK II) EFFORTS IN PEACE BUILDING IN CYPRUS

By Maria Hadjipavlou-Trigeorgis
President, Peace Center

Conflict resolution scholars and practitioners have shown that the involvement of official diplomacy (track I) in the peace process and resolution of "protracted social conflicts" is today inadequate to transform a conflict-habituated system as the one prevailing in Cyprus. This view is based on the assumption that an international conflict is not merely a conflict between states but also between societies therefore there is great deal of work that needs to be undertaken at the intersocietal level to build bridges of communication, mutual understanding of each community's concerns, fears and needs, hopes and expectations as well as a willingness to work and cooperate together in an event of a mutually acceptable political solution.

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Early efforts for unofficial contacts and structured meetings between individuals from the two Cypriot communities date back to the mid 1960s after the first intercommunal crisis when the father of problem-solving workshop approach, John Burton, invited a group of Greek and Turkish Cypriots to the newly founded Center for the Analysis of Conflict at University College London. This unofficial meeting between influential individuals from both communities, after five days of dialogue and a written report which formed the basis for future discussion, upon their return home communicated their respective insights to the decision-making elites of the two communities and soon after the UN mediation process began. The third party consisted of academics from different disciplines and its role was radically different from traditional methods of negotiation or mediation in that it was there to facilitate the participants gain an analytic perspective of the conflict and the issues involved and then help them generate possible options to move forward.

After the 1974 events-the Greek junta engineered coup and turkish intervention- many unofficial third party efforts initiated and facilitated bicommunal contacts and conflict resolution training workshops. Prof. L. Doob of Yale University came to the island early 1974 to explore with the two Cypriot official negotiators and some social science associates the possibility for a workshop for a number of participants from each community. The purpose was to find ways to diminish misunderstandings and tensions between the two communities either through existing associations or new ones as well as develop creative ideas that might be useful for the official negotiators. The tragic events cancelled this effort and did not happen until the late summer of 1985 when Doob got the permission from the Turkish Cypriot leadership to hold bicommunal meetings on the island. These meetings between influential elites from both communities went on for three months. All the meetings took place at the Ledra Palace Hotel with the UN help. Cross-visits were also planned. These meetings were interrupted in October 1985 when the Turkish Cypriot leadership withdrew support and permissions. There followed some negative reaction in some Greek Cypriot press too--Prof. Doob was suspected of being a CIA agent! A press statement issued by the participants noted that such meetings were useful in that fears and concerns of the two communities were communicated and that friendships and a working trust were established.

In 1979 and 1984 Prof. Herbert Kelman of Harvard facilitated with other colleagues of his interactive problem-solving workshops in the United States with "influentials" (individuals who have access to the policy-making level) and elites from both communities. I was a participant in the 1984 workshop in which a report was produced which was communicated to the respective Cypriot leaderships and the Cyprus desk at the State Department. Reading that report years later I note that many of the recommendations made then by the Cypriot participanst still continue to be mentioned today by other bicommunal groups. The need to build a working trust and confidence at the intersocietal level still continues to exist.

In the summer of 1989 the "British Friends of Cyprus Committee" held a meeting with Greek and Turkish educationalists at the Ledra Palace to discuss the role of education in a futural federal bicommunal Cyprus. A report and a press release were issued and were communicated to Vassiliou and Denktash suggesting to them to include among other issues education in official talks. Introducing Greek and Turkish languages in each communities schools was a strong recommendation as well as teacher and student exchange visits which continue to be a need today.

Another initiative in 1989 came from the German "Educational Institute for Democracy and the Preservation of the

Environment", having establishe links in both communities, invited twenty Cypriots to a four-day bicommunal meeting in Berlin to engage in an open dialogue on: the current political situation; how it affects inter-community relations; and reflect on their role as concerned citizens. A great deal of publicity was given to that meeting...

There followed a series of meetings at the Ledra Palace and the Cypriot media covered many of these bicommunal meetings and a new momentum with an air of hope was created in the environment.

A result of this first phase of rapprochement was the establishment in 1990 of the first bicommunal "Citizens Joint Movement for a Federal and Democratic Cyprus". In the preamble of the Movement's constitution it was mentioned among other things that "..the mobilization of citizens and the dialogue between them should become a conscious political choice and action, a matter to be undertaken independently of and beyond any formal and official procedures." There followed many activities which were attended by citizens from both communties. Papers on the Federal system were researched and produced by members from the Movement and serious discussions were undertaken. Turkish Cypriot political leaders spoke at the Famagusta gate on their views and ideas about the Cyprus situation. Seminars were also organized with diplomatic missions whose country has a federal system of government. A lot of learning was generated but also many deep friendships and coalitions across ethnic lines were fostered. Unfortunately when the Movement was gaining a lot of momentum in March 1991 the Turkish authorities stopped giving permissions on the pretext of Turkish Cypriot elections and so gradually the frustration waned the momentum. This was a deep and meaningful experience in the life of many participants who were in the hundreds and who were ready to join similar meetings or workshops when the time came.The foundation for trust and the realization of the many common values and shared goals was built.

THE PEACE CENTER

Soon after a group of concerned Greek Cypriot individuals (some of them were members of the previously mentioned Bicommunal movement) founded in 1991 the Peace Center as a non-profit NGO whose general goal s to "promote the ideal of peace in the world and in Cyprus in particular and through the appropriate activities introduce new ways of thinking about ourselves and the "other" and about the Cyprus conflict..." Although our aim was to establish it as a bicommunal Peace center it proved impossible-legal and political constraints blocked the effort. Many of our specific goals center around the concept of peaceful co-existence and rapprochement between and among all Cypriot communities. Another objective is to sensitize the general public in the necessity for resolving conflicts and differences in a creative and constructive manner. The Peace Center has supported from the beginning and participated in conflict resolution skill training workshops which began first monocommunally in 1991 and then bicommunally.

The Peace Center introduced a new form of discourse in the environment and was both appreciated and supported but has also been misunderstood and attacked by the extreme nationalist media. The Center continues to be active on a number of levels-organizing seminars, talks, workshops and publishing a Newsletter. It has also established close relations with other Peace and Conflict Resolution Centers in Europe and the USA. It has today gained legitimacy and recognition from both the UN and EU. All the work is carried out voluntarily and with very little financial resources--membership fee and some donations. Many of its members are involved in bicommunal projects and activities. The World Council of Churches has also made a donation to the Center and has invited members to various conferences.

THE CONSORTIUM--CONFLICT MANAGEMENT GROUP (CMG), INSTITUTE FOR MULTI-TRACK DIPLOMACY (IMTD) AND NATIONAL TRAINING LABORATORY (NTL)

In 1989 and 1990 Prof. R. Fisher from Canada had organized and facilitated a number of seminars and problem-solving workshops with educators and other intellectuals from both communities. Some of these meetings took place in Canada, in London and in Cyprus. A book with all participants papers was published and two reports compiled on the workshops. This is very informative data which should be consulted by third parties and respective leaderships.

In May 1993 CMG with a grant from USAID Agency gave the first training in negotiations to a bicommunal group of students who were on a US scholarship. This took place in Cambridge, MASS. A report was written by the trainers and was sent to all participants. Many of these young students had never met a person from the other community so this was a very defining experience for them--they were surprised to have discovered so many common interests and shared aspirations for a common homeland.

(Note: The second part of this article will appear in our next issue.)



BI-COMMUNAL CITIZENS GROUP

The history of Bi-communal Citizens Group for Peace in Cyprus began in October 1995 after training in the methodology of Conflict Resolution.

We started together one and a half-years ago, with our hesitations and question marks without knowing really where this journey of learning would lead us. There was one thing we were sure about: that we had to and we always have to GIVE PEACE A CHANCE; to live in security without the threat and fear of war.

To secure Peace, we must be aware and understand the fears, the needs as well as the hopes of people from the other community.

The separation of the two communities led to isolation and alienation. The only way to communicate once again is through these contacts that we occasionally have at the Ledra Palace or elsewhere. Through these contacts we have acknowledged the great importance of direct communication between us through which we discuss freely about any issue that occupies our minds. In order to clear up the images/thoughts we have for the position of the "other" we try always to reach to a consensus for our problem and its consequences respecting always the needs of each other.

Our meetings do not intend to substitute the role of the elected politicians or to prescribe the political solution and the visions of all people of Cyprus.

We only aspire to contribute to the settlement of a peaceful solution, humane and viable, when this will be reached.

We feel that today we live the danger of another merciless war with the rate arms are gathered on the island, that will lead to a total catastrophe of life.

Bearing the burden of responsibility towards the generations to come and our country, we work towards the direction of changing the mentality of war and extinction of each other, to an attitude of Respect, Understanding and Peaceful Coexistence. We owe our efforts to our children and the life that rises ahead of us.

BI-COMMUNAL EDUCATORS GROUP

"...it is in the minds of people where wars begin, therefore it is in the minds of people where we must build the protection of Peace"

UNESCO declaration, 1945

Background

The first members of the group came together in a three day conflict resolution workshop in October 1995 which was facilitated by Greek and Turkish Cypriots. A second workshop for educators took place in May 1996. This was also designed and facilitated in its entirety by Turkish and Greek Cypriot trainers and the general expenses were covered by a small contribution by the participants. Finally, in August 1996 a new bi-communal group of educators was formed in Boston, USA. The participants in this seven day workshop came from the higher levels of the academic and institutional hierarchy of the two communities.

The follow up work of the combined group has not been easy. Peace-builders in Cyprus are working within constant and frustrating constraints. There were times when we could not meet for months. And when we did manage to meet we could feel the tension between the enormity of the tasks ahead on the one hand and the scarcity of our human and time resources on the other. There have been times of disagreements and disillusion but also times of hope and creative co-operation that produced tangible results.



Famous Turkish writr Aziz Nasin bringing together T/c & G/C intellectuals at an event organized by Citizens Joint Movement for a Federal & Democratic Cyprus.

Bi-communal activities and projects

The combined "core" group has decided to expand its work by organising events and working on more long term projects with the general aim of creating bridges of communication between ordinary people from the two communities. As a result of "core" group activities some new groups have been formed. Our work is mainly geared (but not exclusively) towards matters that are of interest to educators. Some examples:

A task group is being formed with the aim of an in-depth study of the educational systems as they now operate in Cyprus and their impact on people's perception of the conflict. An attempt to collect and evaluate what has already been written on this subject will be made.

Members of the "core" group who are artists have created a new larger group of artists and in February 1996 organised a very successful bi-communal exhibition at the Famagusta Gate. A number of cross visits was arranged in order to see the places where the artists in each community work.

In May 1997 with the support of the European Union a series of lectures was organised by Professor Alfred Grosser, a prominent academic who played a key role in the process of reconciliation between France and Germany after World War II.

Teachers of our group have been working as couriers of letters of our students. This "letters to the other side" project was a practical first step in creating bridges of communication between the young generation.

In July 1997 the first Youth Encounters for Peace (YEP 1) group of 60 teenagers (16-19 years old) was formed. A two day workshop was organised and facilitated by members of the "core" group. Many of the students had been corresponding for some time through our "letters to the other side" project. A second group (YEP 2) was formed in October 1997 and YEP 3 took place in December 1997. (A more detailed description as well as comments of participants in the YEP project are given in separate articles).

Another group of younger teenagers (13-16 age group) was formed through an initial two day workshop. The workshop was funded by the World Wide Fund (WWF). Their work is centered on environmental issues and follow up meetings and projects are now taking place.

MOVEMENT AGAINST NATIONALISM AND WAR

24th June 1997 saw the birth of a new organisation fighting for rapproachment; the Movement Against Nationalism and War. The initiators of the Movement belong to the group of citizens who pioneered the first attempts for common bi-communal activities almost ten years ago, when the channels of direct communication were first opened.

WHY NOW

The new initiative was sparked by the heightening of nationalism on both sides, escalating in the events at Dherynia in the Summer of 1996, which raised once more the spectre of bi-communal bloodshed. The new diplomatic initiatives, mainly by UN, USA and the European Union, created new hopes for a settlement but they went hand in hand with the continuing rise of nationalist incidents.

The fanatics on both sides cultivate the notion that the two communities cannot live together in a common homeland.

In the meantime we are watching with alarm the incredible armaments race in Greece and Turke and the continuing militarisation of both sides of Cyprus. More recently we have witnessed the hysteria around the military exercises, the 'virtual air-fights' and all the usual stupid warmongering.

In fact, one could argue that the danger of war and instability is the decisive factor behind the international initiatives for a settlement.

AIMS OF THE MOVEMENT

The primary aim of the Movement Against Nationalism and War is to unite all peace-loving citizens of both communities in a political struggle against nationalism and war. This inevitably includes opposition to the forces of fanaticism and their propaganda. The majority of the people want peace and they must not allow the self-appointed 'saviours of the nation' to cause another carnage in our peaceful island.

The Movement will take an active part in day-to-day political life, taking a responsible position especially on bi-communal issues. Being a citizens' movement it will lay emphasis in independent action, and will not wait for politicians, at home or abroad, to solve the Cyprus problem. Even if there is a settlement, it will not be stable nor viable unless it is supported by the people, unless it is made to function against the inevitable opposition and possible undermining by the nationalists.

The Movement stands for the reunification of Cyprus based on federation and will cooperate with all other organisations in both communities supporting rapproachment.

Finally, the Movement will take initiatives in building a united movement in Cyprus, Greece and Turkey against nationalism and war.

ACTIVITIES

Most of the activities of the newborn Movement have been channelled through the Forum for Peace and Reunification Against Chauvinism. Leading persons from the Movement played a very active part in organizing the Forum's activities.

The Movement, naturally, has its own independent activities, some of which are the following:

Appearence in the media either describing its aims and activities or through press statements.

Starting procedures for amalgamation with similar thinking forces in the T/C Community.

Preparing for an international seminar on the national question for next Spring.

In addition, the Movement is organising meetings in order to present its aims with a view to increasing its membership.

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WOMEN'S BI-COMMUNAL PEACE-BUILDING ACTIVITIES IN CYPRUS

Neriman Cahit
Writer/Journalist
Member of bi-communal Conflict Resolution Women's Group

Despite the fact that women had absolutely no role in the starting of the wars in Cyprus, they have paid dearly. Burying their loved ones, sons, husbands, fathers and brothers. And women live with the constant fear of new victims...
Therefore, it is not accidental that they take their part as vanguards in the peace movements and work for a just and lasting peace in Cyprus, as other women do the same for their countries in other parts of the world in conflict. As women we are mothers, wives, sisters...we cannot sit idle while the loved ones we gave birth to are taken from us...

The Cyprus conflict, lasting for more than 30 years, keeps on creating pain for us, women. And that is why, women are speaking out in the peace building activities in Cyprus.

THERE ARE WOMEN...

There are women participating in the peace building activities in Cyprus for the past decade. Women have a very important role in the conflict resolution work continuing for the past six years in Cyprus. A good example of this is the bi-communal Conflict Resolution Women's Group, constituting of Turkish and Greek Cypriot women with an equal number and an equal status.

I have been participating in the meetings of this group ever since the beginning. When communication specialists, with quite an experience, brought us together, what we lived through was unbearable. Both sides started blaming each other without mercy,..We shouted, got angry, and even got into the behavior of insulting each other...We cried...We were in unbearable pain and suffering due to our very heavy material and spiritual losses for years...This continued for some time...Our pain and suffering did not lessen but in the workshops we organised we gradually learnt to listen to each other, as well as learning respect and tolerance. Our feeling of empathy (putting yourself in the shoes of the other) developed. Some realities started to take shape in our minds.

These realities were like this:

There was no way that we could forget our pain and losses, but we could learn to live together with these. We could prevent these from darkening our present time, especially the future of our children. Our generation could never enjoy their chilhood, the youth loves or the peace of adulthood due to the Cyprus problem. Since we have paid for the Cyprus problem, very dearly, we tried to say that...at least let's let our children live...

FACTORS THAT CREATE PAIN AND SUFFERING

As the bi-communal Conflict Resolution Women's Group, we tried to look at "The Factors that create Pain and Suffering in Cyprus Through Women's Eyes". We got the opportunity to have deep analysis of these factors. In the end we noticed that, "Historical and Political" factors have the greatest weight in creating pain and suffering in Cyprus.

WRITING OUR OWN HISTORY

And we also noticed that there is no "women's history" in Cyprus. The history of women has not been written. Our bi-communal women's group has now a shared vision. With the help oof interactive management programs and conflict resolution skills, the womenãs group has started writing its own history. The next step is realizing bi-communal projects for women and peace.

ANOTHER GROUP

Another women's group was formed with the initiative of Greek Cypriot MP Androulla Vasiliou (wife of the former Greek Cypriot president) and in this group there are representatives from Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot women NGOs. This group, in the beginning did not touch the essence of the Cyprus conflict but rather started taking up issues that interest women in both communities. The first issue taken up by representatives of women NGOs was women and the decision-making bodies, women's situation in decision-making, why they are so few, the obstacles preventing them from coming to power and the factors that would help them. Other subjects will follow this discussion.

OTHER ACTIVITIES

A group of Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot women participated together in the Beijin UN Women Conference in 1995 and gave the message of peace. Between 17th and 18th April 1997, with the initiative of the European Union, equal numbers of Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot women went to a conference in Brus-

sels entitled "Give Peace a Chance: Women Speak Out in Cyprus".

These women discussed the pain created by the Cyprus conflict and the effects on women, created joint peace projects in workshops and learnt about the Jerusalem Link, created by the Israeli and Palestinian women. Israeli and Palestinian women working on this project also participated in this conference and told the women about the difficulties they went through and the benefits of this project.

Despite all the difficulties and the pain, at the end of the conference a joint declaration was accepted and in this declaration women stated that they would work for the creation of a "Cyprus Link", based on the model of the "Jerusalem Link".

In the joint declaration, it was stated that a solution could only be reached by ensuring the security of both communities, respecting the identities and the national heritage of both communities, banning all sorts of discrimination and pressure, and by doing positive action for peace. The Brussels Conference, with a wide spectrum, was a first in this context. The women promised to work for taking the results of the conference forward. (Of course we know that not everything is rosy and that there are long and difficult roads to pass but we are determined not to destroy HOPE and have the passages going towards peace open).

WOMEN AND PEACE

Last year a conference was held in the Dominican Republic organized by the UN where specialists participated. In this conference "women and peace" issues were taken up and it was stated that being peaceful was a learned role for both men and women and men were not born with this. That is why we are determined: we'll all teach peace to our men.

During conflict women can cross conflict lines where men are not eager to, and women can meet with the "enemy". Women are more determined and willing to do this when men can't.

The efforts are being intersified in Cyprus for this. We believe that peace where women's voice, love and care, thoughts, feelings and worries are not taken into consideration, cannot be real peace. We do not want an agreement on paper but a real peace where we will not bury our children anymore.

That's why we struggle for peace and will continue to struggle until we reach peace.



POLITICAL EQUALITY

By Louis Egoumenides

Those who, on behalf of the two communities, handle the Cyprus question but also those who offer their services in the efforts to seek a just and viable solution focus their attention on something they consider to be a key to a total solution. And it is apparent that, even if they agree on general declarations, when they are called upon to approve procedures and measures for an immediate or gradual implementation of a basic principle, we see revealed the different philosophies separating those in charge of the destiny of our country.

Thus, the citizens' intervention in both sides is necessary if we are to approach the principles of a solution not according to the interests and the political philosophy of those in power but in accordance with the wishes and expectations of the majority of the people in both communities.

The first issue that needs to be opened up to public dialogue is, in my opinion, the principle of political equality. An issue which is, on the one hand, elevated by the Turkish Cypriot leadership to a key to the solution and, on the other, it is accepted as a matter of principle by the Greek Cypriot leadership but at the same time it interprets it in a way that provokes the negative reaction and intransigence of the other side.

From the outset, let me clearly state that I too consider the issue of political equality as a key question. And this because the way political equality is interpreted, adopted and provided for by the constitution, in the framework of a solution, will determine a number of other priority matters that will in turn shape and define the physiognomy and viability of the solution.

The first thing that everyone must clarify is whether by political equality they mean equality of the citizens or equality between the two communities. And this despite the fact that, in my opinion, the right approach to this principle would in both cases lead to the same result. So, I will concentrate on the result and the goal rather than the starting point and the implementation procedures of the principle of equality.

What political equality must seek to achieve is the free access and participation of every citizen of the federal state, independently of the community of origin, in decision- making and power centres, in all domains of political, social and economic life of the Federal State. This must be effected in full equality of the communities and taking into account the historical and other peculiarities concerning the citizens of the Federal State.

In order, however, to achieve this supreme goal and to reach the much desired result, which can secure peace, democracy and all human rights, it is imperative, at least initially, that all individual, political, social and economic rights be provided for by a strictly constitutional equality of the two communities. This will not only meet historical necessity but it will also fulfil the expectations of the people who felt that its rights have been grossly violated with by the cultivation and exaltation of intercommunual conflict, related as it is to the two national states involved, Turkey and Greece.

There are various methods of securing this political equality constitutionally. Undoubtedly, the best are those that better meet our realities. There is no reason to exaggerate some possible methods of implementing this principle so that the two leaderships can show how unattainable are the other side's claims, as for example is the case with the issue of alternate presidency.

Besides, with the acceptance of the principle of political equality and the global and substantial convergence in the implementation procedures, we will I think find ourselves nearer to the effective solution of the sovereignty issue. Sovereignty will not be put forward as the safety valve to the equality of the rights of the two communities, but rather their political equality is constitutionally secured and provided for.

PEACE FESTIVAL A HISTORIC SUCCESS

By Doros Michael

The Peace Festival of the 29th November is of historic significance. It was the first time in modern Cypriot history that G/C and T/C organisations were organising a mass political rally, on their own initiatives and actions.

Mass participation and the friendly atmosphere on previous inter-communal events, had already demonstrated the willingness of thousands of G/C and T/C people to bury the past and move forward towards a common homeland. The participation of 4000 people in the Rally has shown beyond any doubt that this can be achieved through the independent action of ordinary workers, activists and youth, without any mediators or outside help. The only thing we need is a meeting place and freedom of movement. Given these, the representatives of our organisations can easily find a common language and can reach agreement on common principles and goals, and our people can meet and communicate in a touchingly warm atmosphere.

Naturally, the event of the 29th November and the signing of the common declaration, are merely the first steps. Many activists are already saying that what we have is not enough, and they are right. There is no doubt that the Cyprus problem is so urgent and complicated that a lot more has to be done before we can achieve a decisive impact towards its solution. Nevertheless, the easiest thing here is to underestimate the significance of what has been achieved: Under very difficult conditions in terms of communication, the leaders of at least 32 heterogeneous organisations representing tens of thousands of members, managed in the space of a few months to achieve tremendous trust between them, to come to agreement on a common declaration for peace on the 1st of September, to expand this to the common declaration signed on the 29th November, and to organise a very sucessful mass event at very short notice (less than two weeks, because of problems relating to the venue.)

It is significant that the majiority of the Media in the G/C Community did not promote the event before, but they could not avoid covering it after, given its great success. The UN and other diplomats, among others, were very impressed by its success. Definitely, the Forum which organised the event has now gained in respect and has put its stamp as a political force which nobody can ignore. And the

WHAT WE NEED IN CYPRUS

Dr Özdemir A. Özgür

What we very much need in Cyprus, where we have a big problem in the relations between the two main communities, is respect for and observance of certain principles or ideals which are recognised universally in international conventions, declarations, resolutions, etc. For example, it should have been of great benefit for us if we would have observed the principles of mutual understanding, tolerance and friendship. Indeed, we should educate our children in the the direction of these ideals. The wisdom of mankind, gained after centuries of bitter experiences, dictates that only positive results are obtained from the observance of these principles. It is well known that the future of a country is determined by its youth. As early as 400 years B.C., Aristotle said that the destiny of the world depended on the education of young people. Indeed, wars are first made in the minds of people, which is directly linked to education. Of course, this does not mean that these principles should be observed only by the youth, and not by others. Well-educated youth are also well educated grown-ups.

Many United Nations agencies, such as UNESCO, UNICEF, ILO, FAO and UNDP adopted decisions and exerted efforts for the promotion of these principles. In fact, one of the purposes of the International Youth Year (1985), proclaimed by the United Nations, was to promote among youth the ideals of peace, mutual respect and understanding among people. In 1965, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted the declaration of the promotion among Youth of the ideals of Peace, Mutual Respect and Understanding Between People. The General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council, the Commission of Human Rights, the Commission of Social Development and other organs and bodies of the United Nations as well as international conferences have adopted resolutions to promote among youth the ideals of international peace and understanding, social justice and human rights.

Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights provides that education shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace. In other words, the maintenance of peace is linked to the observance of the aforesaid ideals or principles. Article 7 of the International convention on the elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination contains a similar provision. Cyprus is a Party to that Convention; that is to say, Cyprus is bound by the provisions of that convention. A similar provision is also contained in Article 13 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, to which Cyprus is a Party. Furthermore the Helsinki Accord, that is, the Organisation on Security and Cooperation in Europe, in its provisions on Cooperation in Humanitarian and Other Fields, speaks of encouraging awareness among youth of the importance of developing mutual understanding and of strenghthening friendly relations and confidence among people.

Without these principles, neither the full realisation of human rights nor the much-needed harmonious relationship between communities is possible. These principles or qualities are some of the foundations on which human rights are based. In turn, human rights are linked to peace in the Charter of the United Nations (Article 55), the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (premabular paragraphs) and in many other international instruments and resolutions.

On 21 March 1979, at a meeting to observe the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, the Secretary-General of the United Nations said:" More than ever today we understand that the International struggle against racial prejudice, inequality and injustice is very much related to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peacefull and friendly relations among nations." And, in connection with the award of the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize to Bishop Desmond Tutu, the chairman of the Norwegian Nobel Committee said that world peace is more and more considered a matter of human rights. There is no doubt that the same logic applies to internal social life, too. Human rights are also linked to peace and stability in the country. In all this context, the ideals of mutual understanding, tolerance and friendship play a great role.

A few words should also be said about the need for tolerance. On that subject, it must be noted that in 1982 the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted the Declaration on the Elimination of all Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination based on Religion or Belief. The title of the declaration is self-explanatory. Briefly, it is designed to protect the right of freedom, of thought, conscience, religion or belief. It calls upon all States to take effective measures to prevent and eliminate such intolerance and discrimination that is known to have brought wars and great suffering to mankind.

Believing in these universal ideals and knowing that were strongly encouraged by the late Dr Ihsan Ali, we, a few Cypriots (Turks and Greeks), established in November 1995 the Ihsan Ali Foundation with the aim of promoting mutual understanding, tolerance and friendship among the people. It is a non-political Foundation.

In December 1995, we organised a photo exhibition at the University of Cyprus depicting the political and social life of Dr Ihsan Ali, while at the same time launching the Foundation. In his book My Memoirs, Dr Ali had written that "he had struggled for the unity of the people of Cyprus." He was a political adviser to President Makarios. In April 1996, the Foundation held a bi-communal cartoonist exhibition. In October 1996, a dinner was organised in solidarity with the foundation. And in November 1996, a musical performance was organised for presenting the Foundation's "Silver Olive Branch Award" to the families of Kutlu Adali and Elias Ypsarides.

In Cyprus, we certainly need to have better understanding, to show more tolerance and behave more friendly towards each other, without regard to race or religion. These are civilised qualities. If we had enough of them, most probably we would not have the Cyprus problem today.

people who participated have now gained in self-confidence to move further, to move forward.

J believe that the best way forward, is for the leaders of the Forum to start a serious dialogue, aiming to achieve agreement on the main principles for the settlement of the national question. A next step would be to take this agreement to the people, so that it can acquire mass support. Such a step could transform the situation by showing a way out of the impasse of 23 years. It would be the first time in modern history that the working class and the youth, the ordinary people of this country, would gain the upper hand in controlling their own destiny. And they are the only ones that can do it, because they are the only ones who have no conflicting interests and every reason to want to live in peace in their common homeland.

Of cource many more little steps, smaller and bigger events and activities have to be organised before we can achieve common mass agreement on the national question. After the success, though, of the first big step, it will be easier to persuate more organisations and more ordinary people to join the struggle.

J am sure that HADE will play an important role in this regard, J salute its first issue and sincerely congratulate the publishers, wishing them every success in their pioneering work.

HISTORY TEXTBOOKS IN GREECE AND TURKEY

The main difference between Greek and Turkish history textbooks is that the latter make limited reference to Greeks, whereas in the former Turks are prominent. This is because the Ottoman Empire was for centuries entangled with the multitude of other states (France, Hungary, Russia, Iran and so on), while modern Greece most often confronted the Turks.

Hercules Millas
(History Workshop Journal, Vol.21, no 2, 1991)

The basic belief impressed upon nine to twelve-year-olds is that they belong to a superior nation. Such notions as equality among nations and peoples or that civilisation can derive from interaction of different cultures, are not found in these textbooks.

Greek textbooks describe Alexander the Great as bringing civilisation to the Asian people. In Turkish ones it is the other way round

In both cases, their general stance has changed little during at least over the last fifty years. Marginal changes occured with the shifting phases of bilateral relations or the coming to power of governments with new or different political positions. In 1977, for instance, the Turks stressed 'a rising tide of nationalism', while recently Greek Grade Four and Five textbooks moved away from nationalism towards a more humanistic understanding of history.

Despite dissimilarities, which arise partly from differing historical heritages and partly from different historical interpretations and ideologies, there are still striking resemblances in the ways each nation has handled the image of its neighbour and presents the mutual relationship.

THE SUPERIORITY OF 'OUR NATION'

The basic belief impressed upon nine to twelve-year-olds is that they belong to a superior nation. Such notions as equality among nations and peoples or that civilisation can derive from interaction of different cultures, are not found in these textbooks. The Greeks claim they are the founders of world civilisation and the Turks that the ancient Aegean civilisation flourished because of them. .

According to the Greek sixth-grade textbook, the Greek nation is already around 4.000 years old: "After the wars against the Persians a new Greek civilisation was created which the whole world still admires. This civilisation was later conveyed and spread to deepest Asia by Alexander the Great. When the Greeks became Roman subjects, this civilisation was carried to Europe and formed the basis of present-day civilisation. During the Byzantine era the Greeks fought against the barbarian nations to save civilisation and Christianity. When Sultan Mehmet II brought this long and glorious historic period to a close, Greek intellectuals escaped to the West and took with them the torch of Greek civilisation, helping to kindle the Renaissance in Europe. The Greeks were enslaved by the Turks for almost 400 years but because of its patriotic devotion, the eternal Greek race was reborn".

The Turkish textbook for the equivalent school year tells another story: "Archaeological excavations and research in Central Asia have shown that the oldest civilisation in our world was the creation of the Turks. Turks from Central Asia migrated to various parts of the world and helped natives living in the Paleolothic Age to move on into the Neolithic Age. They learned from the Turks how to cultivate and work metals. In these new countries the Turks made further advances building big cities and founding strong states. Important centres of civilisation were thus created in Mesopotamia, Anatolia, Syria and around the Aegean Sea.

Greek textbooks describe Alexander the Great as bringing civilisation to the Asian people. In Turkish ones it is the other way round: "The first human beings lived in Asia and the great religions were born there. Asians were the first to invent gunpowder, the magnetic compass, paper, porcelain, silk, glass, the calendar and writing. The oldest and greatest civilisations and the first great states were founded in Asia".

The naivete of the above passages is not just because they were written for children, in a symplistic style. Such understandings are accepted respectively in Greece and Turkey as the 'official view of history', and can be found in many history books. Supervision of the writing of history is a major preoccupation for

The account of events in 1821, with a touch of paranoia, accuses the Turks of evil intent: "The massacre of Chios demonstrated to the whole world the bestiality of the Turks and their ultimate aim, extermination of the Greek race".

politicians in the Balkans: indeed Ataturk himself formulated the Turkish official historical line.

BELITTLING THE NEIGHBOUR

Superiority is always relative, and requires that the other party be discredited. To enhance the claims of one nation to be civilised, the past, the ancestry and the 'character' of its neighbour are proclaimed barbaric. Past events are fabricated or exaggerated or evaluated by anachronistic modern standards without any historical context or understanding.

Thus Turks were till recently presented to Greek schoolchildren as follows: "Emperor Constantine made preparations for the defence of Constantinople even though he knew that the barbarians would eventually win. Sultan Mehmet II aroused the fanaticism of the Turkish soldiers by promising wealth in this life and happiness in Heaven. Those who died in their efforts to take the city would meet the Prophet and His rich offer of food in Heaven. Terror and horror followed the capture of the city: massacre, plunder, enslavement and vandalism. Those who sought sanctuary in the church of Saint Sophia fell victims to the fury of the janissaries".

In the new version of this textbook, however, there are some significant changes. The reference to the expected victory of the 'barbarians' has gone; so have the 'fanaticism of the Turkish soldiers' and their expectation of 'food in Heaven'. With the fall of the city, according to the new book, the Turks "plundered, killed and vandalised", but that is all: References to "terror" , "horror" "massacre" and "barbarism" (so often before attributed to the Turks) are all omitted.

In the sixth-grade textbook (not yet revised) further brush strokes develop the portrait of the Turk: "It is impossible to imagine a greater catastrophe for our nation than our enslavement to the Turks".

It is interesting to note a contradiction here. The 'historian' tells the children of forced converts to Islam 'by any available means' , churches turned into mosques and 'satanic, disgusting and pitiless kidnappings which supplied the ranks of the Janissary Corps; how Greeks had to pay heavy taxes 'to stay alive', faced 'disgraceful humiliations' and suffered denial of all justice. There is no reference, however, to the 'privileges' granted by the Ottoman Empire to its Greek-speaking population, e.g. autonomy to the Greek Orthodox Church, including right of jurisdiction in the Orthodox community, autonomy in matters of education, religion and culture. Such historical facts are ignored, subordinated to the larger need to maintain the image of the wicked Turk.

Depiction of Turks in more recent history implies little change. The account of events in 1821, with a touch of paranoia, accuses the Turks of evil intent: "The massacre of Chios demonstrated to the whole world the bestiality of the Turks and their ultimate aim, extermination of the Greek race".

In Turkey the textbooks are no better. Acording to the fourth-grade book: "In 1200 BC barbaric tribes invaded the region called Greece today, devastated the region and pitilessly killed the aboriginals. The Romans called these unkown tribes 'Greeks'". These Greeks subsequently, Turkish fifth-graders are taught: "Intermixed with other tribes which came from Anatolia, thus forming a crossbreed. Then they mixed with the Macedonians, the Romans, the Slavs and the Albanians. Therefore the Greeks of today have nothing in common with the ancient Greeks but a common language and some customs".

So history 'proves' the desired point! And there are lessons to be drawn: "Greece attacked the Ottoman Empire (1912-13) when it was at its weakest. During this war the aggressors acted with cruelty and killed the Turks without pity. Until the Greeks appreciate our friendly offers we should be very wary and cautious with this neighbour. Turkish boys and girls must realise this".

In 1821 'most of the Turks who lived in the Peloponnese and on the islands, were killed by the Greeks. During the Turkish War of Liberation 'the Greek army killed civilians without hesitation, women and children included, and set fire to villages and towns'. And as final touch, to ensure an irreversable impact on these children of impressionable years, the 'historians' record that in 1821 'the Greeks showed by their actions that they are capable of killing without mercy even the babies in their cradles'.

OMISSIONS

Two categories of events are skilfully left out of these textbooks: First 'our' ugly or unpleasant deeds and second any praiseworthy actions by 'them'. Schoolchildren in each country almost never read or heard that their ancestors might have injured the other side.

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According to the Turkish textbooks, 'when the Turks captured Istanbul nobody was hurt and nobody lost property'. According to the Greek textbooks when on 23 September 1821 the Greeks captured Tripolis in the Peloponnese 'the Greek army rushed into the city; it is impossible to describe what followed'. What in fact followed was a massacre. (According to the memoirs of the Greek commanding officer 'from Friday to Sunday, the Greek soldiers went on slaughtering women, children and men, 32.000 people were killed around Tripolis. One man alone from Hydra killed ninety. At the end a crier was sent out and the massacre was terminated.')

The expansionist, aggressive and booty-seeking policies of both Greeks and Turks are metamorphosed into humane expeditions, acts of benevolence and expressions of tolerance.

"Alexander the Great was not only a great conqueror but also a man who civilised [the East]. He respected the religion, the traditions and customs of [the conquered]".

"Sultan Mehmet II is the best example of the greatness and humane approach of the Turkish nation. He allowed the inhabitants [of Constantinople] to live as before and respected their religion, tradition and customs".

According to these textbooks, expansionist wars were fought for the triumph of tolerance or at least 'because we had no choice'.

"The ancient Greeks had to cope with many difficulties [as they established their colonies]. The greatest difficulty was the attitude of the people living there already. Their attitude was sometimes friendly and sometimes hostile [meaning they defended their homeland]. In this second case the Greeks had to fight."

"Mustapha Kemal did not respect the Treaty of Serves. He revolted and started to fight against the Greeks. Greece was therefore obliged to enforce the Treaty by means of guns."

"Byzantine Constantinople was squeezed between Turkish territories. The strait of Bosporus was very important and could not possibly be left to the enemy".

"The Ottoman State was not aggressive. But when its neighbours posed a threat, and only then, it acted promptly to check the danger."

"Beograd had to be conquered in order to defend the Ottoman territories."

The concept of an all-benevolent nation constitutes part of both 'official' histories.

In the two new Greek textbooks, however, this concept is significantly modified. For instance, they suggest that the Ancient Greek colonies were established to deal with unemployment and in pursuit of wealth. Instead of reading how Alexander the Great was a conqueror who civilised the East students are asked to discuss 'how Greek customs changed as they came in contact with new people'. The most important development is that they emphasise daily life , whether urban or rural and deal with women and children. They present a people's history, rather than the heroic deeds and military victories of which 'history' previously consisted.

Positive aspects of the neighbouring nation's history are in each case generally ignored or even denied. Turkish children are told the Ioanians were a people 'completely alien to the Ancient Greeks', and mention of Homer or Democritus, or the language spoken by these 'Anatolian indigenous people', is discreetly avoided. Correspondingly, one searches in vain for mention in Greek textbooks of the cultural heritage of the mighty Ottoman civilisation. For Greek school-children and by extension for Greek adults, the Ottoman Empire and barbarism belong together.

The national liberation wars of the two nations, the historic moment for which each nation feels really proud, are also reciprocally scorned and dismissed. The Greek Revolution of 1821 was a turning point in Balkan history and beyond; while the Turkish liberation war of 1923 was one of the first anti-imperialist wars in history and was to inspire others. This is how they are presented in each other's textbooks:

"The Ottoman Empire treated the Balkan people well. Nobody suffered because of religion, language, customs or traditions. The Greek uprising was initiated by the Russians. It was suppressed but Russia continued to incite the Greeks. All Europe helped with plenty of money. When eventually England and France intervened, independence was granted to Greece.

The Turkish Revolution is recounted as follows in the Greek textbooks: "On 15 May, 1919, the Greek army landed at Izmir as required by the Great Powers. Mustafa Kemal refused to comply with the Treaty of Serves. He fought against the Greeks. Later, having received support from the Allies, Mustafa Kemal attacked and the Greeks were defeated."

Not a single reference is made to the people, liberty, sovereignty, self-determination, personal sacrifices or national inspiration, when it is a question of 'their' history. Lofty ideals are reserved only for 'our' revolution.

The national liberation wars of the two nations, the historic moment for which each nation feels really proud, are also reciprocally scorned and dismissed.

Schoolchildren still encounter passages in their books which imply that there is something wrong with the present borders between these two countries.

UNDERMINING EACH OTHER'S SOVEREIGNTY

Both Greece and Turkey have a number of times renounced their earlier expansionist policies. Officially, Megali Idea (recovering Byzantine territory) and Gaza (war for the extension of Islam) or Panturkism are dead. Nevertheless, schoolchildren still encounter passages in their books which imply that there is something wrong with the present borders between these two countries.

Turkish children read that 'in the Second World War the whole of Greece was invaded by the Germans. In spite of this defeat the Dodecanese were granted to Greece.' Or again: "Most of the Aegean Islands were given to Greece by the Great Powers. When in fact these islands are very close to our coasts. Previously the whole Aegean coast, the islands and Greece were under Turkish rule. The islands of the Aegean sea were a part of the Ottoman Empire sixty years ago".

Children living on the Aegean islands or the Greek mainland find in supplementary readings in their history textbooks a poem relating to the Fall of Constantinople, once quite popular, which ends, 'don't cry, Lady, a time will come when the city is ours again'. Then they read the legend of the Greek king turned to stone by an angel the day Constantinople fell, who is hidden in a cave and will one day come back to life and 'chase away the Turks and so much killing will follow that the calf will float in blood.' It is interesting that both poem and legend are retained in the 1988-89 textbook. The justification is probably that they are part of the popular literary tradition. But still, why out of hundreds of poems and legends are these considered the most suitable for children are they presented as a sample of 'our people's belief and expectation'?

ESTIMATING THE DAMAGE

Besides distorting and manipulating historic events, these textbooks are also arbitrary in evaluating them. Severity and harshness in ancient times and more recently are used to 'prove' the continuous and characteristic brutality of the neighbouring nation. Labels such as Greek and Turk create images of permanent ethnic prototypes, ignoring the complexity of life and the way ethnic groups change and evolve. Textbooks leave the impression they are concerned with two invariable, unchanging racial groups.

The notion of immutable nations is further reinforced by assigning definite national characteristics: 'our' nation is superior benevolent and strong; the other is harsh, uncivilised and insignificant. Children are left to conclude that the other side was always in the wrong and their own side always almost perfect. It is difficult to assess the harm done. But judging by the image which each nation has of the other - and there are some gloomy poll findings - this educational procedure is quite influential.

AMENDING THE TEXTBOOKS

Both in Greece and Turkey there has been criticism of the nationalistic approach to history and in particular to its presentation in textbooks. Historians, teachers, psychologists, philosophers and others have all been involved.

At a three-day conference in November 1975, for instance, Turkish historians engaged in extensive discussion of textbooks used to teach history from primary level up to university and many criticised the official line.

The Greek-Turkish Friendship Committee, established when bilateral relations were in decline (1986), has repeatedly called for improvements to textbooks.

CONCLUSION

Biased textbooks are only one of the ways in which opinion is formed, but it is one of the most important, since they are central to the education of the whole nation. Evidently they need to be amended, not only for the sake of historical honesty, but also for practical political expediency: If Greeks and Turks are to live as good neighbours they have to overcome their nationalistic prejudices. Even the governments which authorise the use of these textbooks admit their harmfulness.

There are both Greek and Turkish historians and educationalists capable to surmount the past in the interests of a more humanist nature. There are, however, a series of probable reasons why this is not done. Most people are happy with the myths they learned at school and as voters resist drastic change. Foreign policy is a battlefield and attempts to change the 'official' historical line could be exploited by the opposition. Many of those responsible for amending textbooks were themselves brought up on them and believe they are still valid and useful. Finally politicians seem to view the whole issue in the context of bilateral relations and not as a measure to enlighten children about their own country. So demands for reciprocity, endless negotiations and worries about the risk of too hasty concessions mean that change is delayed, inadequate and ineffective.

Children are left to conclude that the other side was always in the wrong and their own side always almost perfect. It is difficult to assess the harm done. But judging by the image which each nation has of the other - and there are some gloomy poll findings - this educational procedure is quite influential.

BICOMMUNAL CYPRUS IN CYBERSPACE

[part A]

By Adonis Florides

Through the Internet, information is made available to millions of users around the world. All these information are often available regardless of social and cultural boundaries, and nation-state policies concerning these boundaries simply can not be applied since they are proven to be extremely weak as centres of power. No nation-state can actually control an international network which spreads to every corner of the world.

The Cyprus conflict is one of the most typical examples where communication between GC's and TC's has for various reasons been limited for many years. In spite of the fact, or maybe because of this fact, an increasing will for communication has arisen between the two sides during the last few years which is not limited only within the boundaries of the practice of the various bicommunal groups, projects and activities, but which is also reflected in the many ways that this communication takes place between individuals in cyberspace and especially through the Internet.

The Cyprus issue, if not one of the most discussed on the Internet, is certainly one of the most interesting as it often involves, apart from Cypriots, foreign experts and academics, as well as people interested in other similar issues such as the Northen Ireland conflict. Of course on many occassions, and especially on on-line forums, discussions get off the track and end up in mutual flamethrowing.

Despite the desperate efforts of various centres of power to control or affect the flow of information, this communication is being carried on uninterruptedly, simply because cyberspace is in fact an unlimited space where people can create their own autonomous zones and communicate freely. These autonomous zones expand from their straightforwarded forms, the private exchange of e-mails, the discussion e-mailing lists and news-groups, to the real time audio-visual communication of cyber-conferencing and chat forums. This relatively unimpeded social interaction between TC's and GC's in cyberspace, somehow substitutes the lack of everyday communication and it has the potential of becoming one of the most important means of communication between the two communities.

Currently, there are four main forms of cyber-communication through the Internet and the Cyprus issue is present in all these forms: the World Wide Web, the Discussion Mailing Lists, the News-groups and the real time communication through IRC (Internet Relay Client) or other Chating means. What follows is a listing of selected sites/ forums which present a particular bicommunal interest and which can be reached easily by the average computer user with Internet access. However, some familiarity with the terms used in cyberspace is needed in order to fully comprehend their functionality.

1. The World Wide Web.

The last time I searched for "Cyprus" on the internet, I got 3271 pages which contain this keyword. Let alone the results which I had when I searched with the keywords "Kypros" and "Kibris". Many of these sites are linked together and have many mirrored pages something which sometimes makes things very confusing. This means that one can enter a site through a link or a "mirror" hosted in another site which doesn't necessarily have a direct relation concerning its contents. Moreover, many of these pages have not been updated for a long time. A great number of these sites are dedicated to promoting the official views of each side while others are university, institutional or personal home pages. Other sites are commercial or hardly related to the Cyprus issue. The following list includes, in alphabetical order, some sites that present a bicommunal perspective and of course can be browsed with any internet web-browser (Netscape, Microsft Explorer, Mosaic etc.). Although these sites can also be accessed through links in other sites, the list includes only their home-pages. There are more sites with bicommunal interest and obviously this is just a small selection from where one can start searching Bicommunal Cyprus in cyberspace:

ASSOCIATION FOR CYPRIOT, GREEK AND TURKISH AFFAIRS (ACGTA)

http://www.gn.apc.org/acgta/acgta-1.htm

This is the homepage of the Association for Cypriot, Greek and Turkish Affairs, an organisation which promotes the development and dissemination of knowledge and understanding of contemporary social, political, economic and cultural affairs in Cyprus, Greece and Turkey so as to promote good and friendly relations between these countries, encourages mutual understanding and respect between the peoples of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey, and provides a forum for discussion and exchange of social and political ideas, free from any physical, psychological, legal or other impediment. This page includes information on the aims of the Association and on how to join the organisation, as

well as information on the various events and seminars which organises.

CONTEMPORARY CONFLICTS: CYPRUS

http://www.cfcsc.dnd.ca/links/wars/cyprus.html

This page is part of a link which hosts information on various conflicts around the world. The page on Cyprus hosts among other information some very interesting and some not at all interesting articles on the Cyprus issue. There is some information, on peace and bi-communal activities in Cyprus. Many of the articles project each side's propaganda, but it is a good place to find them gathered together. Copyright © 1996, 1997, Information Resource Centre Canadian Forces College, Department of National Defence (Canada)

CYPRUS FORUM

http://www.cyprusforum.com

This is a web discussion forum, open and accesible to all users. Participation in the discussions is done simply by posting an e-mail. The page creates a link to your message which can be read by other users. The discussions on this forum seem to be very slow compared to the discussions on the mailing-lists. However, there are some very interesting discussions with people from Cyprus, Greece and Turkey. Some titles of the current discussions are: Lets just make Cyprus Neutral, Stop Propaganda, My idea of solution etc.

CYPRUS MAIN PAGE

http://www.stwing.upenn.edu/~durduran/cyprus.shtml

The most "bicommunal" site on the web. The site is maintained by Turgut Durduran and is hosted by the Science & Technology Wing of the University of Pennsylvania and, as it states, in no way has any connection to views of Stwing. The site provides links to many interesting pages categorised by Towns, Maps, Culture, Organisations, Parties, Mailing Lists, Bi-Communal Activities, News, and Cross Green-Line. It also provides access to the Cyprus Bibliography Search Engine Search with over 1000 books, journals and magazines related to Cyprus!

INSTITUTE OF MULTI-TRACK DIPLOMACY

http://www.igc.apc.org/imtd

Check for "Cyprus" under the "programs" banner. IMTD has been working in Cyprus since July 1991 and this page provides useful information on the Institute's Cyprus Initiative projects. As it is stated in this page, the aim of this initiative is ".....to create a human infrastructure of change agents among the Turkish- and Greek-Cypriot communities who can manage a citizen-based, internal, bicommunal process of trust-building, peace-building, and reconciliation between two peoples who have been in conflict for decades."

MARIO'S CYBERSPACE STATION

http://www.hr/mprofaca/news030.html

This is one of my most favourite locations in the web. It is maintained by Mario Profaca, Freelance Journalist, Zagreb, Croatia. It provides access to almost everything related to the Cyprus issue, from peace connections to picture galleries, from links to GC and TC newspapers and international news agencies, from activist initiatives to Turkish for tourists. When loading the homepage of this site two little devils appear on the screen, one holding a Greek flag and the other one a Turkish one!

THE CYPRUS PEACE PROCESS

http://www.americanembassy.org.cy/www10.htm

This is a page of the official site of the U.S. Embassy in Cyprus. Apart from useful information on the official policy of the U.S. on the Cyprus issue, it also provides information on the bicommunal projects, groups and activities supported by the embassy's Office of Bicommunal Affairs.

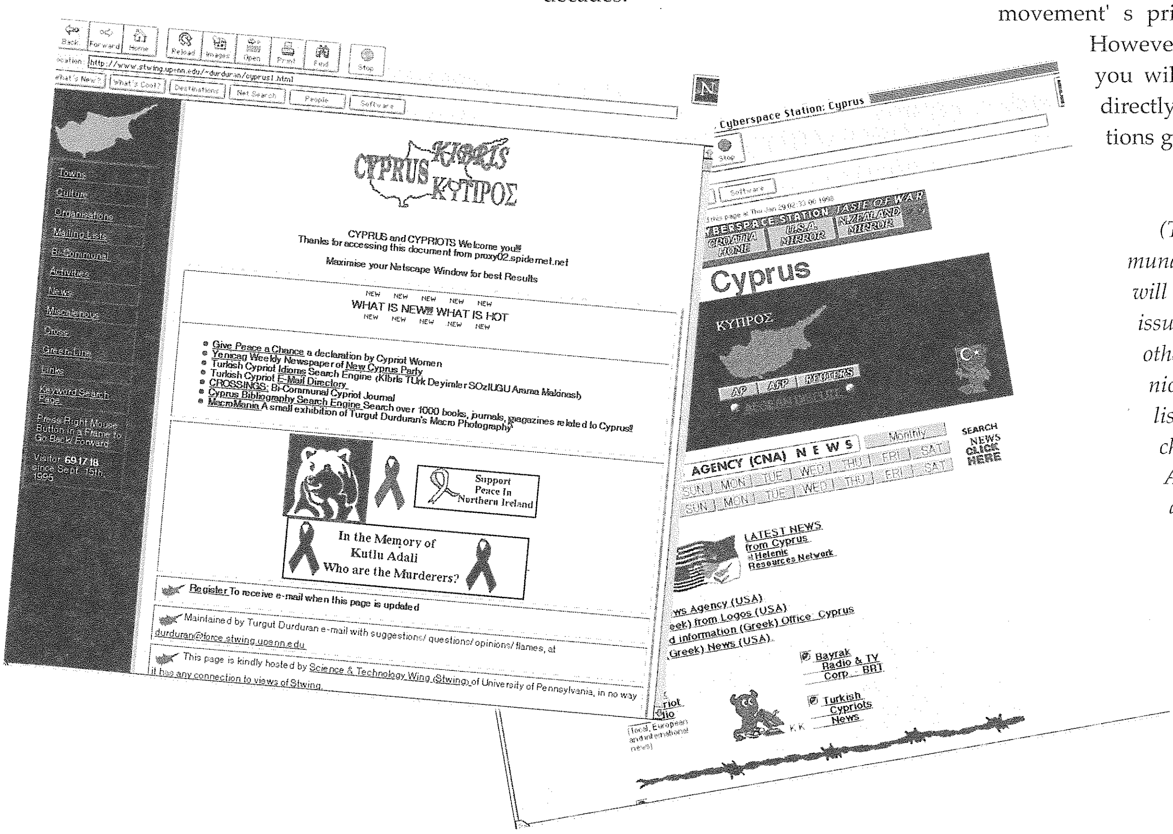
UNITED CYPRUS MOVEMENT (UCM)

HTTP://www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/3093

This is the homepage of the United Cyprus Movement. A movement commited towards a united, peaceful Cyprus. It functions mainly through the internet and it is open to Cypriots who agree with the movement' s principles and objectives. However, for more information you will have to contact them directly by following the directions given in this page.

(The exploration of bicommunal Cyprus in cyberspace will be continued in the next issue with the examination of other forms of cyber-communication such as the mailing lists, the newsgroups and the chat forums.)

Aknowledgements: *Charalambos Cleanthous, Panayiotis Zaphiris, Barry Fraser, Yiouli Taki.*

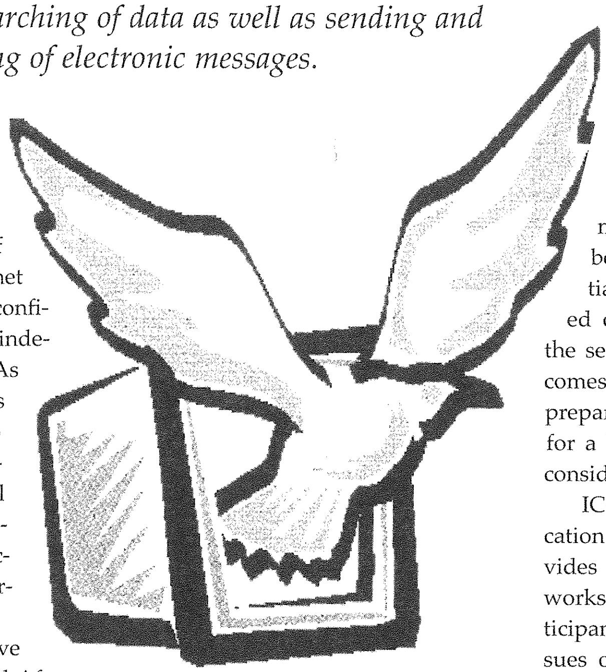


TECHNOLOGY FOR PEACE

Bicommunal Workshops in Cyberspace

By Yiannis Laouris

The overall VISION of the "Technology For Peace" project line is to empower the people to both communities in Cyprus to assume responsibility in coming closer together, working together, and appreciating each other's culture by increasing the level of knowledge on all matters through electronic and computerized communication that will allow interaction between people working on the same problem, archiving and searching of data as well as sending and receiving of electronic messages.



A promising and creative way to enhance inter-communal communication where there exist substantial hindrances to direct contact between peoples is through the use of the Internet. Cyberspace and Internet provide an efficient, fast, trackable, confidential, organized, time and space independant means of communication. As individuals and organizations throughout the world continue to demonstrate, the Internet can overcome the challenge posed by physical separation, whether due to geographic, political, or other reasons, by effectively moving discourse into "cyberspace".

The TFP project is a collaborative effort between the Institute of World Affairs in Washington, D.C., the International Communication and Negotiation Simulation Project (ICONS) at the University of Maryland, the Peace Centre, Cyber-Kids-PeaceNet G/C, and the PeaceNet T/C. The project team is composed of individuals with many years of experience in conflict resolution (in Cyprus and other divided societies), in computer-assisted communication and negotiation skills training, and in the design and development of electronic communication systems.

This project is designed to help advance conflict resolution in Cyprus through increased inter-communal communication by means of Internet access and computer-assisted negotiation training. The project has three principal components: (1) the development and expansion of capacity in the north and south of Cyprus to communicate electronically (i.e., to set up nodes in both communities with information about various bicommunal activities, on-line magazines, on-line simulations and confereneces and available for free access by people interested in bicommunal affairs); (2) a seminar and workshop on each side of the green line on the use of the Internet to increase: (a) professional skills (with a special emphasis on negotiation skills enhancement), (b) access to information; and (c) communications; and (3) a cross-communal negotiation simulation exercise. The target audience for the project are journalists, academics, politicians, business leaders, students and community leaders in the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities.

ICONS & Theoretical background

Diplomacy represents an alternative to the use of force in the settlement of potential or actual disputes between nations. International negotiation is a phased process, predicated on expectations of reciprocity and the search for mutually satisfactory outcomes. The parties to a negotiation must prepare their positions carefully, looking for a balance between national strategic considerations and international realities.

ICONS (the International Communication and Negotiation Simulation) provides the basic methodology used in the workshops. ICONS simulations cast participants as high-level negotiators on issues of international importance. Working together on "country-teams", participants model real-world interactions between nations. The simulations are conducted on two levels: deliberations within teams and negotiations between teams. Within a team, students perform research on their assigned country and on the specific negotiation issues highlighted in the scenario, and, working as a group formulate positions for the multilateral negotiations. They then communicate their policies and conduct a dialogue with the other country-teams by sending written messages over a computer-based communications system. In addition, country-teams "meet" during real-time, on-line conferences to discuss proposals. While the focus of the exercise is multilateral, participants should keep in mind that bilateral are also a central component of the negotiations.

Key Contact Persons

If you are interested to participate in the on-line conferences or in the planned bicommunal workshops, contact any one of the Contact Persons below:

USA	Institute of World Affairs	Hrach Gregorian
Greek Cypriot	CYBER Kids, Peace Net G/C	Yiannis Laouris, Harry Anastasiou
Turkish Cypriot	PeaceNet T/C	Bekir & Fatman Azgin
		Dervis Besimler, Mustafa Anlar

THE VISIT

by Ulus Irgad

I am a school teacher. I was born in Paphos and all my childhood and adolescence was spent there. My grandfather was a road foreman and he used to take me with him to various Greek or Turkish villages where roads had to be repaired. I had the opportunity to witness and experience the human relationships that existed between people regardless of nationality or religion.

My parents taught me not to judge people by their attitudes but by their humane side that exists in all people no matter how evil they may seem to be. We learnt not to judge the Greeks by their national 'coat' but by the common criterion we could both be measured by: as Cypriots. I and many of us found out that as Cypriots we are hospitable, respectful and merciful.

I used to see Greek friends that came to visit my grandparents, and watched the close and warm relationship they valued so much. They would sit and talk for hours. They would share their problems and would sincerely offer their help to each other in whatever way they could. They seemed to share a lot of activities. I remember how they would go to the cinemas together, how they feasted together during religious festivities and how they expressed their congratulations to one another in these occasions. The troubles that started in 1963 and went on until 1974, in my opinion, have not eroded the fraternity and warm feelings that people shared on those occasions. I believe these feelings can still prevail and flourish if suitable ground can be found. As a teacher I try to teach my students that the future can only be built on the foundations of friendship and love.

As a teacher I try to teach my students that the future can only be built on the foundations of friendship and love.

I would like to give you as an example the contradiction that we have and are living through in Cyprus. I was a member of a group of Turkish and Greek teachers who were sent to the USA to study how computers can be used in education. After we came back and started applying what we had learned in our schools we arranged to visit each others schools and share experiences on how the programme was being applied. I joined a group that visited the Greek school in the village of Pareklishia in Limassol. We were received very warmly. The headmaster and the staff of the school did their utmost to make us feel comfortable. The lunch at the restaurant by the beach and the dinner at Pissouri village were exceptional and unforgettable experiences.

Our Greek friends took us to Paphos, the town I was born and grew up in. Memories came back to me and filled my mind; my childhood, the house I was born in and lived my childhood years...The memories of people I used to see around flew by like a cinema film. The Turkish population of the town was not there any more. But I remembered the Greek people who visited us or Greek friends my grandparents would take me for a visit on many occasions. In the village of Chlorakas there was a family who were very close to us, like relations; a family with whom my elders were like a big family.

I wanted to visit them and my friends took me to the village. It had changed a lot; it had developed into a big town. I could not remember where their house was and so we went into the coffee shop to ask the villagers. There were six persons in the coffee shop. My friends told them that I was a Turk and wanted to visit the family I knew. Their reaction was very negative. I could see it from the expression on their face that they were not pleased with my coming. My friends did not tell anything to me but I told them that I understood their feelings and that their attitudes would not change my approach towards peaceful co-existence of the two communities.

An old man offered to show us the house we were looking for. The husband had died but his wife was still alive but was very old. She did not recognise me at first but when I reminded her of my mother and grandparents she began weeping and embraced me and was kissing me. Tears also rushed into my eyes. My Greek friends were also very moved witnessing this flow of emotions. The harsh reaction that they witnessed in the coffee shop and the love and warm feelings that erupted in the house were telling of the contradictory environment in our island. At the same time, however, it indicated the path to a peaceful solution of the problems that the communities were going through.

The tragic incidents we lived for years were the deeds of only a handful of evil thinking people.

The old woman offered to give me the photographs of my mother, aunts and grandparents that she still kept. There were many of them carefully placed on the mantelpiece or hanging on the wall. I did not want to 'rob' her of her memories that she valued so much. She said that she was now very lonely and would very much be pleased if God would grant her the chance to see my grandmother once more. Was that a very remote possibility? I wondered. I remembered my grandfather saying that good people would in the long run meet in paradise. He used to say that the old woman and her husband were the two good persons he knew and was sure they would meet again in paradise. I mentioned this to her and she began to cry again. We did not have much time. I kissed her hand and said good-bye to her.

The tragic incidents we lived for years were the deeds of only a handful of evil thinking people.

In the space of a very short time we witnessed two contradictory incidents on same day. In the first we saw people who judged history with anger and hatred and, in the second, we saw people who viewed the past, the present and the future through love and respect. Both anger and love seem to be in historical destiny of the Cypriots. It is now up to us, the sensible people of the island to make the correct choice...

"Το χωρκόν των ορφανών ή το χωρκόν των γεναικών"
(The village of the orphans or the village of the women)

A painful first contact

By Costis Achniotis

We looked at each other in a hurry, we went past each other, we stopped for a while and we greeted each other. Consciously, he did not remind me of anyone.

"My name is Orhan and I come from Tochni" he said. I understood from the imperceptible motion of his hand as he showed to the north that he did not refer to the Tochni of Limassol, but the village of Vouno at the foothills of Pentadactilos almost opposite of Nicosia.

"I went there once in 1990 or 1991," I said and a black cloud of sadness hang at a corner of my mind together with the torturous feelings that were with me on that 13th of November.

On the 13th of November of 1990 or 1991 there was going to take place a visit of Greek Cypriot journalists in the other side after an agreement was reached between the two Journalists Associations. Nevertheless, the day before the visit the Greek Cypriot journalists of Cyprus Journalists Association decided that the 13th of November is too close to the sensitive date of 15th of November and the recognition issue was raised. I decided that journalists neither recognise nor do they not recognise states. The newspaper for which I worked at the time did not allow me to go as its representative and so I went as the representative of the small magazine that I was publishing whose final issue was printed earlier that year. One or two buses were waiting for us and many colleagues who were holding flowers. Apart from myself there were only three other Greek Cypriot colleagues who represented foreign media. The disappointment was obvious and everyone felt very uncomfortable not knowing exactly how to deal with the situation. In all the confusion I got in the car of friend and we drove away after leaving the message that we would go to Kyrenia and we would meet with the others there. So on that day I acquired, unofficially, the state of a free moving person.

I was certain that the other colleagues would write mainly about our enslaved land, the despoiled churches, the derelict villages and so on. For this reason and also because I was more interested in giving emphasis to people, I had decided to present my impressions under the general title "A journey among the Turkish Cypriots". Nevertheless, for mysterious reasons, the title was eventually changed to "Journey in the occupied areas" despite the fact that I had made this very point quite clear to the page editor. Furthermore, while I had submitted for publication a series of photographs I had taken myself and which showed images of the daily lives of Turkish Cypriots, they appeared mixed with other photographs which showed chuches and abandoned villages. The photographs which I had taken showed, for example, people walking dressed normally, households with tables, chairs, refrigerator and television, blocks of flats and roads, grocer shops with food on the shelves (I remember the Nicaraguan bananas which were banned in the south, and so the sale of Nicaraguan bananas could not be included in the activities of the Solidarity Association for this country), coffee shops with people drinking coffee, Turks who were evidently soldiers or settlers, monuments of the "barbarity of Greeks" and glory of the Turks and so on. I would take a photograph every few minutes so that one could see through these photographs a more real image of the other side.

I remember that a few days later, after the visit of a much larger number of Greek Cypriot journalists finally took place, a well known and bold journalist who supports raprochement "finally discovered" that the Turkish Cypriots are well dressed and stay in houses and one can see cars on the roads! All this is obvious to anyone who lives near the buffer zone.

So we went to Kyrenia, my heart cried at the small port and my shoulders felt heavy as I walked under the Turkish flag while entering the venetian castle. I remembered the school excursions there during my childhood days. I also remembered the images of Greek Cypriot soldiers surrendering when confronted with the tanks. We had lunch at the Dome hotel... the hotel of the unforgettable memory. We left early for Famagusta in the same way that came to have enough time to implement the plan we had made. We first went to Ayios Epiktitos in my uncle's house where I often went during my holidays in the old times. We were badly received by a "mavrotsakalos" (word used by T/C referring in a pejorative way to the Anatolian Turks) who grudgingly led us to the croft. The Turkish Cypriots from Avdemou who were there cultivating it were picking lemons and offered us some to take to my uncle. Then we went to the village itself but I passed through it quickly, not because I am not interested but because I want to focus my attention somewhere else.

...In the other side there is a village which is called, or at least it used to be called till that time "the village of the orphans" or "the village of the women" or, better still as my friends told me in Greek "το χωρκόν των ορφανών ή το χωρκόν των γεναικών". I was told that only women and children live there. They are those who remained from the Turkish Cypriot population of Tochni of 1974... On the road sign it says "Tuskent koy" which means Tochni in Turkish. It is the village of Vouno, next to Syghari to the south of

Pentadactylos, almost opposite of Nicosia.

While we were still at Kyrenia, we organised by telephone a security team from members of organisations of the left which went to the village before me in order to protect me from possible angry responses from the inhabitants. I was the first Greek Cypriot who would be seen by the Turkish Cypriots of Tochni since 1974.

While we were travelling there I was thinking that some information about the slaughter of Tochni was made known in a Greek documentary made by Papademetrakis and Thekla Kittou produced a few years after 1974. A Turkish Cypriot who lived in Zygi spoke in the film about this matter. He said that some Turkish Cypriot men from Zygi were also among the dead.

The village seemed empty and all the doors were shut. Two or three persons then appeared in front of the coffee shop. We exchanged some words very uncomfortably and my escort led me for a walk round the village after asking me if I wanted to do so. We walked through the narrow streets to the small church, a tiny and humble building, all white, sitting on the side of the mountain from where one could see Nicosia sprawling over the wall that divides my country into two.

The little church was white inside, the icons were removed, it was despoiled but... All around on the walls in picture frames slightly bigger than the size of a palm were the photographs of their missing persons from Tochni. "All the male population over 16 years old" I was told. In the middle there was a showcase which contained some of the personal effects of each one... a piece of clothing, a string of beads, a cigarette holder... God himself would have entered in that place on his knees. I tried very hard to stay on my two feet. I felt I was in a truly sacred place. My mind was filled with a cloud of mist.

A while later I found myself at the village coffee shop drinking the most bitter coffee in my life. I was sitting on one side and opposite me there were a few dozens of people. In their midst, at the front there was an old man. He told me he was the village mouhtar (leader) at the time and

"But we want you to tell to the people of Tochni to come to the Ledra Palace as well".

they let him live. Sitting there in front of me there was one middle aged man who was not inside the village at the time of the slaughter; he had fled in the mountains he told me and he survived. In the village, I was told, there was someone who had been arrested with the others and eventually survived but he was not always a sane person. They also told me of another man who was not at the coffee shop, the teacher of the village, who was not from Tochni but from Dhali, a heroic figure they said. He died two years ago they said. He was the brother of another heroic figure in favour of rapprochement, Kemal Aktunc. I am under the impression that I did not notice any woman that day and as I have already mentioned, all the doors were shut.

The young people who were sitting round the old man were, generally speaking, wearing casual modern clothes, had long hair and had the image of dissenters. Some nationalists, I would think, whom I had met earlier were looking at me with expressions that implied that I was representing a barbaric tribe, that I was a murderer. I felt I was ready to face that.

The old man sitting opposite me had an empty expression on his face, maybe due to many long years of deep pain. He was looking at me with a deep and penetrating look. The man was without hatred, he had passed through the land of pain and had reached the other side, the side of wisdom. "My son" he said, and he told me the story of how and who rounded up the men of Tochni and led them to the place from which they would never return. His voice was weak, expressionless but steady. Every family had lost loved ones. He told me that he would not like to return back to their village and that it would be good if Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots could live side by side - not together- in peace. This is the official policy as well. But his reference to peace in his soft voice had nothing official in it. And I did not believe him when he said that he would not want the Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots to live together again. On the contrary, I was under the impression that this man could bring the two communities together single handedly. He said, "Bring to me your own people who have suffered as much as I have so we can talk together".

From the rest of the young people who were there I only maintain the general memory of a group of people who, I think, are pioneers in relation to the rest of the Cypriots. It seemed to me that these people in their twenties and thirties had already worked through in their inner being the basic questions of society and of human existence. I was impressed by the lack of a competitive spirit in the way they talked, a lack of hatred and a feeling, not of love, but I would say, of acceptance.

Orhan, whom I met at the last bi-communal gathering at the Ledra Palace hotel was one of those young people I met six years ago. "I am the one who made you the sandwich", he reminded me shyly, trying to disperse the mist of time.

Another person standing next to us seemed to be trying to join us in our conversation. Was he a Greek Cypriot or a Turkish Cypriot? Trying to work out who is who is an interesting game we play in these bi-communal meetings. "Let me introduce you to my friend Fevzi" Orhan said. "Fevzi, Fevzi...Cyprus is so small whether unified or divided" I said with a smile. In another meeting at Pyla, for Hade, I met a girl whose surname was Fevzi who came from Tochni. "She is my cousin", he said. Günsel Fevzi was a subtle intellectual who lives in London and was telling us that day how, a few years ago, she had gone to Tochni and went to her old home in the midst of many difficulties. Herself being pulled by the passion of returning, even for a little while, to the house she was born, she dared this journey which ended up, as always, in tears. Maybe she went precisely for this reason; to cry.

I agreed with Orhan and Fevzi to meet again in the next bi-communal meeting. They said to me, "But we want you to tell to the people of Tochni to come to the Ledra Palace as well".

THE GREATEST CHALLENGE

Having experienced life in a divided country, where memories of war are still painfully fresh, I have become convinced that the purpose of each and every one of us must be to promote peace, in an effort to break the vicious circle of bloodshed, that is so characteristic of human society.

Levon H. Arakelian (19 years old)

The world of 1997 does not need any more heroes of the gun: It needs heroes of the olive branch, determined enough to overcome their prejudices, and brave enough to walk down the thorny path to peace. For, in their attempt to give rise to a better tomorrow, those "courageous few" will almost certainly be alone. Above all, they will have to face not only the suspicion of "the other side", but the disapproval of several of their compatriots, as well. And against this, they shall have no weapon but their dedication to their mission, and their belief, that some day, somehow, men will look back on what they did, and be thankful for their achievements.

In the prospect of what the future may have in store for us all, I can only be confident and optimistic. Looking at myself, for instance, and seeing how far I have come in my understanding of the world, I realize that I have been fortunate enough to have learnt that nothing can stand before one's will to succeed. Even beyond that, however, I have discovered that men are "good" by nature - they are not "evil beings", capable only of spreading death and destruction. As such, I see no reason why men should not eventually realize that life is too short to be wasted. And I see no obstacle to their eventual understanding of the fact that what binds us together, is much greater than what separates us from each other.

In the meantime, however, we cannot stand idle and wait - we do not have the right to! On the contrary, we must get up and go! After all, there is so much we can do in preparation for tomorrow's world. For one thing we can begin to smile. For another we can commence a relentless attack on the scourges of poverty, famine, pestilence and illiteracy. Above all, we can pursue whatever knowledge we can, in an attempt not only to learn of the Earth and its troubles, but to become one with it. By doing so, we can truly bring down the ethnic, racial and religious barriers of hate, and unite, to partake of the fruits of brotherhood. In view of this fact, I - an Armenian - call myself "fortunate" in having Greek, Arab, British and American friends. Yet, I also call myself "deprived" in that war has prevented me from having Turkish companions. Hence, I pledge to do all that is in my power, to spare future teenagers from having as an unpleasant an experience as mine...



What is done, is done, they say, and there is nothing more certain than that. But, what is not "done", can still be done, in a way that will be different to the "done thing". This is, perhaps, my greatest conviction, and, simultaneously, one of the greatest personal challenges. In conclusion, therefore, I would say that if I have one dream in life, that is to see no more tragedies, such as those suffered by my people and their "enemies". For then, and only then, Man will be in a position to stand before his Creator and say:

"Lord, I have done your bidding... my Household is finally in Peace!"

THE HOUSE I REUNITED

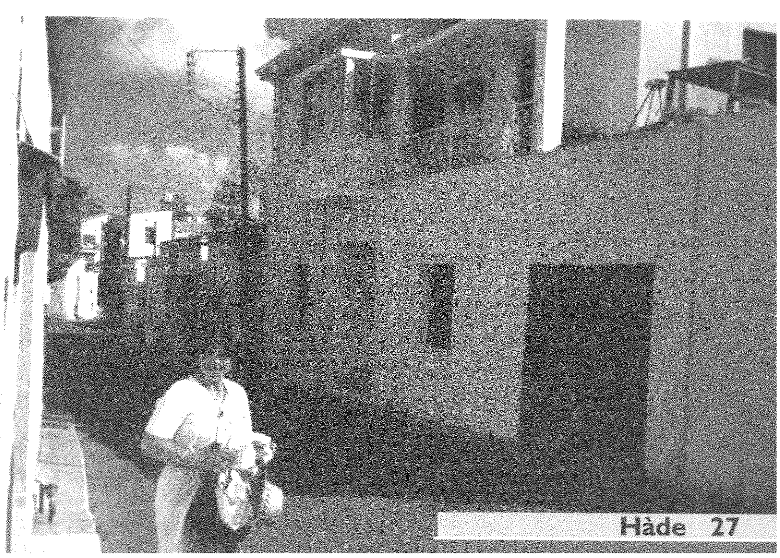
A MEMORY by Selma Bolayir

When I look back to the Saturday of 31st of May 1997 I remember that the silence and quietness around had given me a feeling of being deserted. The warning to return back was on my ears but stronger was the wish to find the thing that is being searched and if that can not be found the feeling that being there would not be an accomplishment... With this feeling I was being dragged uncontrolled towards the direction that the houses were as if by a magnetic force. Not only myself but I was dragging the one beside me.

I could still feel the softness and understanding that Sevina was showing to me. Inside all these obscurities the only indication would have been the mosque. Later Mutallo (Turkish mahalla) and my mother's house, later my mother's house and afterwards "The long house" and Citlemit tree. But what I really really wanted to find was the house in the middle of the nature that embraced us with all its beauties as a family. And that back garden facing the sea that the cyclamens of my daughter were springing freely and crazily and the sea leaning as an ocean. All these were near by the mountains and valleys that turn green, yellow and blue. And that very house which was standing at that very spot at the tip of the rock. I must have been in the right direction because I had already found the house of Peral. I ran and ran in the road as if I was falling to another planet from the space. Bright Sea, burning sun, the houses that seem empty and at my back Sevina struggling to reach me was there. Oh Sevina, and so many friends in the bus that I keep thinking and feel sorry that I keep them waiting... The house that was the only reason of my being there was a few steps ahead but not in the vicinity yet. I was being pulled both onwards and backwards. Something in between, as if I was not moving at all. One of my hands was at the back in the bus and the other in the front, towards the house that I was still trying to catch. I stretched and stretched. The time was passing. Oh my god! I had to return back but I was moving further with every step I took. Although my face was towards the front I kept seeing what I had left behind. The friends who kept worrying about the policemen and us appeared in full speed. We made a turn and found the house. There were trees in the garden. Some trees that did not exist in those days. Two beautiful people were sitting by the sea. They were not so surprised because they were not able to understand what was happening. I asked for permission to enter the house but I had already stepped in the entrance door. I felt a lot of self-confidence. I kept waiting with impatience. I was believing so much that they were not going to say: "ohi". And even if they had said I believed that I would convince them and be able to enter the house. I waited and waited... As soon as I entered I realized the structural changes they have made in the house but I kept thinking that if Ayshe and me had thought about changing it we would do the same thing. The new residents took me around; they showed me the changes they have made in the bathroom. I felt that I have something that I share with them. Something that we still keep sharing in spite of the things that have happened outside us without our will. I hugged and kissed them. I wished them happiness in this house: I wished them to live as nice as the days I had lived in this house. I recorded the day in photographs and I still keep the invitation for coffee with the hope to visit them in the future.

Unfortunately we couldn't respect the value of our corresponding realities while we were running after dreams and unattainable goals.





YIRISE SE PERIMENO YIRISE

"Come back I am waiting for you, come back"
words from a well known greek song

Long live the bi-communal publication!
The article below, is the expression of my complex feelings and thoughts during my first visit to the Greek side after 16 years.
It also indicates my personal approach for bi-communal activities and peacebuilding efforts in Cyprus.
Beside this it shows the state of the individuals who are in contact with the other people of Cyprus.

FATMA AZGIN
24/9/97 Nicosia

It was as if the young male and female singers in the little restaurant, where the red candles blended into the table cloths, had been waiting for me to arrive before singing my favourite song.

How bad mannered had I been? I told people that "I want a restaurant with Elinika drayudya" then I told them "You go and I will soon come with Maria" and then I did not show up on time. My hosts must have sensed my embarassment.

-Fatma you missed the best songs.

-Don't worry, I like all greek songs.

My feelings are mixed. "Give up thinking about these beautiful people my girl, anyway it's impossible for you to return. Listen to what they are playing: Yirise. Oh for God's sake, why are you getting it mixed up. They are saying "Come back" to the little girl.

-Yirise, se Berimeno yirise, Mikroulla mu kopella, Ela ela ela.

-Fatma, I thought you said you didn't know any Greek.

-I only know the lyrics of some of the Greek songs.

I remember the way my father used to scold me during the most ferocious days between 1963 and 1974 because I was listening to Greek songs.

-Switch off the radio Fatma! The neighbours are going to hear and give us a hard time.

As if I did not inherit this passion for music from them. Besides the music in our house was never turned off. Even now, husband and wife perform lovely "duets" with their hoarse, sensual voices. I believe they learned the Greek Tangos in their repertoires before I was born, when they were young. That's why they do not forget them. I wonder if they used to express their love with songs when they used to walk from Kofunye to Iskarino, to Lefkara when they were engaged.

What a stroke of luck it was to live in the orbit of Kamran Aziz (Turkish Cypriot composer) when I left that house. My friend, colleague, landlord, beloved aunt of my children, my neighbour. I claim that the piano was bought for the children but I think it was bought for Kamran Aziz to put music into our lives. I tasted the joy of waking up to her lyrical tunes. Now I am singing "Yirise" for the first time without her. She must have got fed up with the mistakes that I made because, she wrote down the lyrics and gave them to me. The essential song of our musical meetings.

Friends who were in Moscow for four years are eliminating the longing of 16 years by discussing the "return" of the Soviets...Russian, Greek, English, Turkish all become intermingled at the table. The singers are still singing their hearts out: "Come back, I am waiting for you my little girl".

Was it because Aziz Nesin (Turkish novelist) had understood how difficult it was to return what he said, "Live side by side, but your eventual aim should be living together. This aim is as distant as the Greeks returning to Istanbul and Princes' Islands. Probably it would take centuries to "return" to the old days. Refugees are not talking about returning to their homes either. I ask those who have been able to see their houses after years. "What did you feel?" They all say "Emptiness". The only cure for the new owners of the houses is to play host to the owners. Nothing is the same as when they left. In that case how will you return? Don't look at the politicians- they are the ones who always grasp the reality last.

Thank God I have nowhere to return to. I suffer the sorrows and contradictions of those who do. The police at the barricade had said "Return before 2.00am" You blessed man, why don't you say "come"?

The melancholy farewell of those who do not know when they will be meeting next. Those who are staying behind are waving and calling "Good bye, come again".

MY LOVELY BIRD

Yasa Yesilada (19 years old)

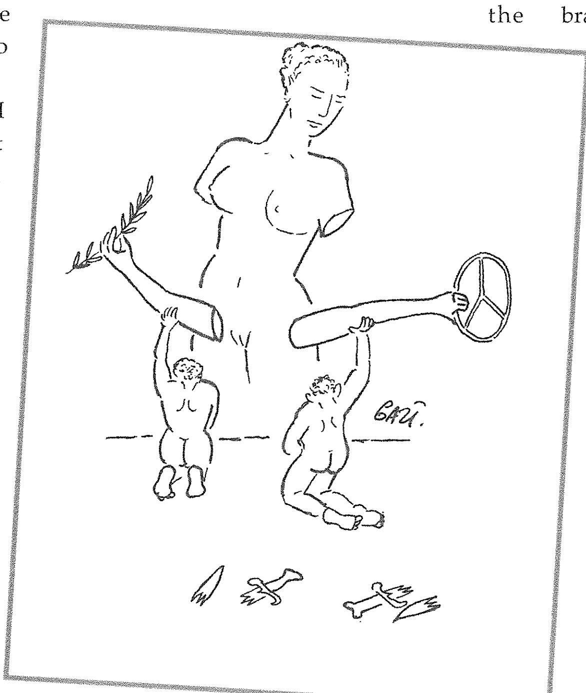
It was 11.00 p.m. on the 14th of November and I was playing football at Cetinkaya, an area in the heart of the buffer zone. It was dark and cold and the projectors of the playground were like little stars shining above us and I was happy to do sport after a long time. Then suddenly, cold air filled my lungs, something I almost forgot. My mum always criticizes me of being 19 years old but not doing any sport at all, so I remembered her now that she was in the UK visiting her sister. It was a time I enjoyed being on my own.

Living though in Cyprus, nice things cannot be long lasting and I experienced this once more that evening. The game was interrupted by the sounds of an uproar that at first we couldn't give any meaning to. Then it was understood that the demonstrations for the 15th of November at the South had already started. Ekrem, a friend of mine, who works hard to reconstruct means of communication and struggles for Peace in Cyprus, suddenly stopped and gave up playing completely. I can imagine what he was thinking about; we took part at the organization of a peace concert in Ledra Palace where hundreds of TC and GC went crazy dancing and singing. I was sure he was thinking about all those and was trying hard to solve the dilemma. The same feelings and thoughts also captured me.

A pessimism wrapped me; I asked myself, if our every attempt would be overshadowed by such fanatical demonstrations, why struggle?

The previous week which I was hoping to be full of comments of the concert on the 6th of November, was shattered by the demonstrations at the borders. Many of my friends asked me questions, like "how can you talk about peace?" I was the target of such questions as I always blamed the status quo and put forward my aspirations for a United Cyprus. To answer those questions is never easy, but it seems that for the youth of both sides to march to the borders was very easy. Once more the nationalist feelings were flared. Everything was done in order for those participating to utilize those events as a means of propaganda. I do not understand why these people can't see they are being exploited for the aims of those who are in favor of the status-quo, either for economic or for political reasons.

Status quo produced long lasting governments and presidents not for their achievements but for the hatred they injected to the society. Hatred is like heroin. Once injected to the society masses become slaves of it and ask for more. But at the end all addicts are the same: total failure and Cyprus is pacing its future to total failure. Total failure will be for the leaders not to find people to dictate. It is a deserted island where all Cypriots will be the victims of themselves. Victims of their aspirations, victims of the historical perspectives which all talks about courage and miseries of its community and the tyrannies and the killings of the other. The perspectives that are actually created a self-defeating future and victimize Cyprus, the home of All Cypriots.



Once one of my friends asked me "what is Peace?" and "why is there no Peace in Cyprus"? I said Peace is a colourful bird flying in the skies over the shores and mountains of Cyprus, looking for a branch, for a tree, for a place to perch. Cyprus lacks the branches, the trees for my colourful bird. I thought my bird will by flying lower than ever after the Peace Concert in the Ledra Palace, but they frightened her with all those stones and swearing and flags in the air. Those who think the stones were for the others are wrong. Actually all the stones were targeting my Lovely Bird. She is still flying over the shores and mountains of Cyprus but she is getting tired. She wants to come down, to be among us. But we don't let Her.

If this continues she will fly away forever, leaving us to our own fate, leaving us to drown in the Sea of Hatred and Hostility.

THE TWO WALLS

by Nicos Anastasiou

(Speech given at a meeting of Turkish Cypriots, Greek Cypriots and foreign diplomats at the Ledra Palace Hotel on the 30th of September, 1996. It was the first bi-communal meeting after the Dherynia events of August 1996).

This is a gathering of hope. All of us here tonight, Turkish Cypriots, Greek Cypriots and our most honoured guests from other countries, have an opportunity to catch a glimpse of what Cyprus can achieve. If I ask myself the question, "Why am I here tonight?", I could give many good reasons. But there is one that stands out, and that is to meet again with many of my good friends from the other community. And, I suspect, that I am not alone in this! Tonight, here, now, I cannot see the vendetta that we have inherited from past generations.

The nature of this vendetta is often strikingly similar with those in other conflict ridden parts of the world where different racial or ethnic groups have a history scarred by tragedy and violence. An Israeli journalist, speaking of the conflict of his people with the Arabs once said:

"We are not fighting each other. We fight masks of the devil that each side has painted on the other".

This statement may be valid in the conflicts between blacks and whites, Arabs and Jews, English and Irish, Indians and Pakistanis, Greeks and Turks, or if you like, Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots.

And, indeed, it is the case that many unspeakable acts of violence have been committed by members of one group against the other. And, more often than not, it is the innocent who are the victims of violence. And in their pain and anger the victims transmit from generation to generation feelings of prejudice and hatred against all the members of the opposing group.

For generations children grow up being taught all the evils that the enemy has inflicted on their people. And, indeed, it is the case that many unspeakable acts of violence have been committed by members of one group against the other. And, more often than not, it is the innocent who are the victims of violence. And in their pain and anger the victims transmit from generation to generation feelings of prejudice and hatred against all the members of the opposing group. This process inevitably leads to another round in the vicious circle of violence; with each new round being more violent, more destructive and reinforcing of all the negative feelings of one group against the other.

It is, therefore, not surprising how easy it is to hate the enemy that one does not know personally. But when people of one group have the opportunity to meet and become friends with those of the other, to actually see each other's faces, understand their fears, share their laughter, experience each other as human beings, acknowledge each other's suffering and pain.... then something new begins to happen and there appears a glimmer of hope where before there was only the darkness of despair.

I often wonder how can our small island contain so much pain, so many tears, so much hatred, so much anger and so little hope? Violence and injustice have indeed left their ugly scars in the bodies and souls of so many people. But for every instance of violence there are thousands of cases of ordinary people who did live together peacefully. This peaceful coexistence is also part of our history and from here we can begin to have hope. From here we can begin to build the peace. It's the innocent and the ordinary people of this country who have suffered most. These same people, in ever increasing numbers, can make a difference and can become catalysts to building peace in our island. But to achieve this we must first go to war. We must wage war against the dragons of hatred, prejudice, revenge, violence, narrow-mindedness and the vendetta that we have inherited from our troubled history.

Sometimes when I discuss such views with members of my community I am ac-

Violence and injustice have indeed left their ugly scars in the bodies and souls of so many people. But for every instance of violence there are thousands of cases of ordinary people who did live together peacefully. This peaceful coexistence is also part of our history and from here we can begin to have hope.

cused of being a friend of the Turks which sounds to many as something quite ugly, tantamount to being a traitor. And I then declare that I am guilty as charged. Yes, I am a friend of the Turks. I am also a friend of the Greeks. And I love the whole of Cyprus, which is our common home, and I love all its people and I recognize, acknowledge and condemn all the pain and suffering that innocent people from both communities have endured in the hands of evil, violent men...

Tonight, as I look at the faces of my Turkish Cypriot friends what I see does not fit the image of the barbaric monster, the dehumanised enemy I was taught to fear during my early years of education. This inconsistency between what I was taught and my own experience may be best explained by sharing with you a very personal story.

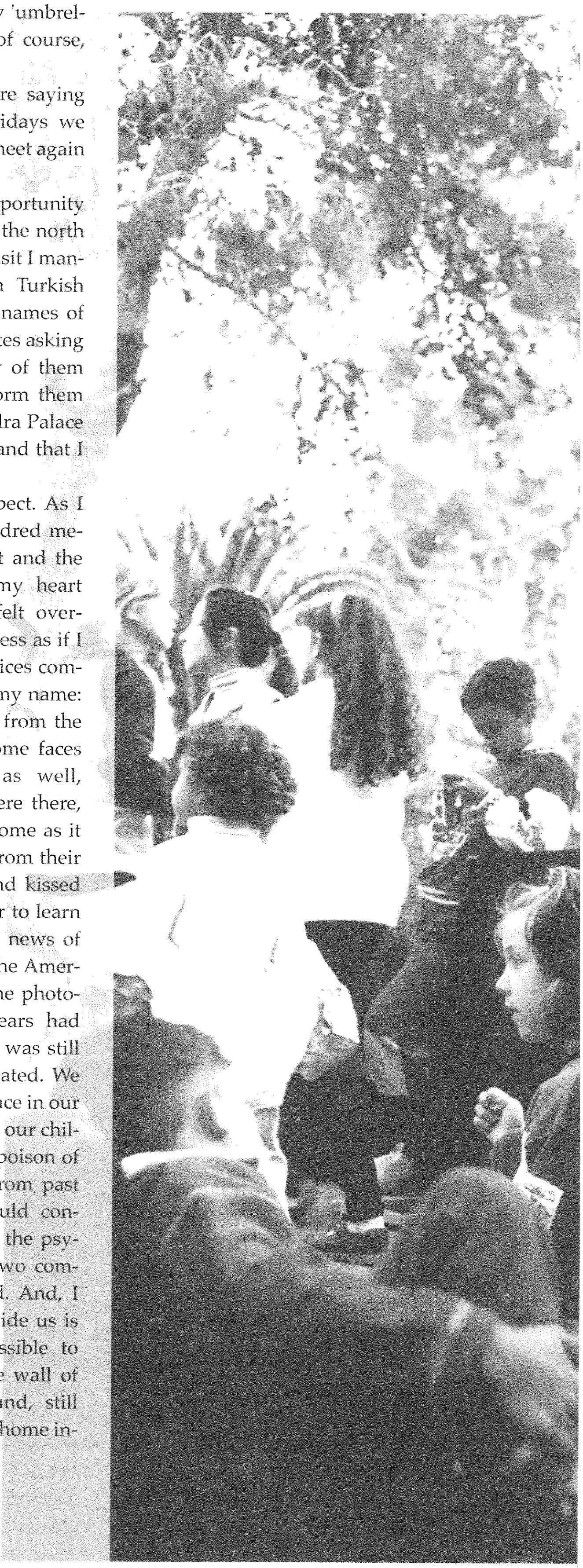
I received my secondary education in the American Academy of Larnaca and for a number of years I had nine Turkish Cypriot classmates. Our common experience as friends and students in the Academy was what was important for us and we never quarreled about the differences in our background and history. I remember Mehmet who was the philosopher in the class, Suleyman for his kindness and for his ability to have a good word for everyone, Ahmet for his sense of humour and his amazing dribbling abilities in football, Ismail with whom I would compete for the highest grade in the tests, Aziz's smiling face and his amasing ingenuity in cheating in tests like religious education, Omer and Zeki for their shy politeness, Imbrahim whom Mr Prodromou would try to teach how to pronounce English words properly and say 'umbrella' instead of 'ombirella' and, of course, Mustafa our gentle giant.

Yes, I am a friend of the Turks. I am also a friend of the Greeks. And I love the whole of Cyprus, which is our common home, and I love all its people and I recognize, acknowledge and condemn all the pain and suffering that innocent people from both communities have endured in the hands of evil, violent men...

In June 1974 when we were saying good-bye for our summer holidays we had no idea that we would not meet again next September...

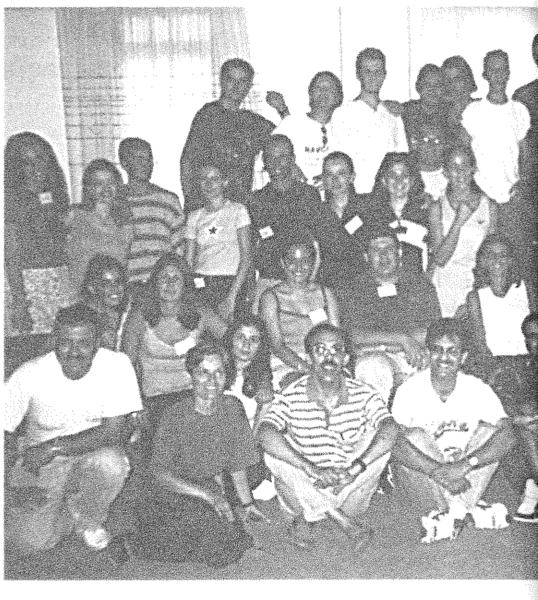
Two years ago, I had the opportunity to be given permission to go to the north of Cyprus. One day before the visit I managed to send a message to a Turkish Cypriot friend, giving him the names of my old Turkish Cypriot classmates asking him to try and find out if any of them were still in Cyprus. If so, inform them that I would be crossing the Ledra Palace checkpoint at a particular time and that I would like to meet them.

I did not know what to expect. As I walked the strangely quiet hundred meters between the Greek Cypriot and the Turkish Cypriot checkpoints my heart was beating very fast and I felt overwhelmed by a feeling of numbness as if I was in a daze... Then I heard voices coming from the other side, calling my name: 'Nicos, Nicos!' I looked up and from the distance I began recognising some faces and I started calling them as well, 'Mehmet, Aziz, Omer!' They were there, seven of them. Two could not come as it was difficult to get permission from their place of work. We embraced and kissed one another. They were all eager to learn about our other classmates and news of our school. They had copies of the American Academy magazine with the photograph of our class. Twenty years had passed. And yet, our friendship was still there as if we were never separated. We spoke of the need to work for peace in our divided island, to make sure that our children will not grow up with the poison of hatred and violence inherited from past generations and maybe we could contribute to the breaking down of the psychological wall separating the two communities of our beautiful island. And, I believe, that unless this wall inside us is broken down it will be impossible to break down that other wall, the wall of shame, that like an open wound, still bleeding, separates our common home into two...

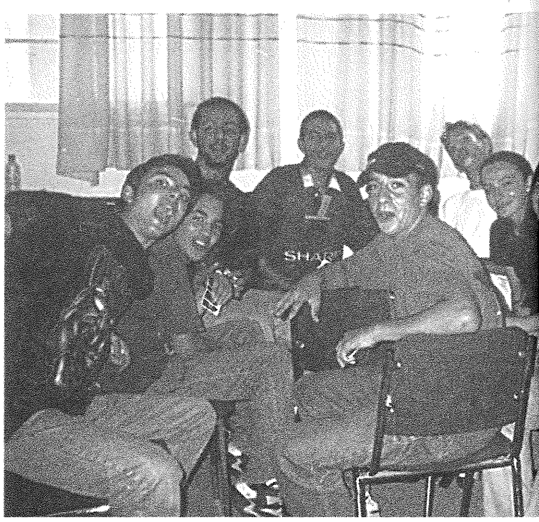


YOUTH ENCOUNTERS FOR PEACE (YEP)









The idea

The overwhelming majority of the young people in the two communities in Cyprus have never met anyone from the "other side". And yet it is these same people who will live in this island in the future. It is therefore imperative that the young generation starts communicating to build bridges of mutual trust and understanding of each other's fears, hopes and aspirations. The "Youth Encounters for Peace" project aims to address this important prerequisite for a lasting, viable and peaceful solution of the Cyprus problem by bringing together young people aged 16 to 19.

The encounters last for two days and each one aims to bring together 60 teenagers (30 Greek Cypriots and 30 Turkish Cypriots). The participants have the opportunity to meet people of their own age from the other community and to discuss together the issues that concern them. These may include topics like the generation gap, education, culture and their views on the Cyprus problem. Facilitators introduce some basic communication skills that are useful in these dialogue sessions.

The first Youth Encounters for Peace group (YEP 1) was formed during a two day workshop on 7-8 of July, 1997. This was followed by YEP 2 which took place on 18-19 of October, 1997. As part of their ongoing work and offer of voluntary service members of YEP 1 and YEP 2 are helping in the preparation of YEP 3 which took place on the 13th and 20th of December. It is hoped that more groups will follow.

The organisers

This is a LOCAL initiative by Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot members of the Bi-communal Educators Group. The United Nations Operation in Cyprus has offered use of the Ledra Palace Hotel and to provide the organisers any logistical help they need. The design and facilitation of these Encounters is exclusively the responsibility of the members of the Bi-communal Educators Group. They have drawn from their own experience in Cyprus but have also selected workshop activities from other groups of peace-builders operating in Israel and Palestine (Neve Shalom) and in N. Ireland.

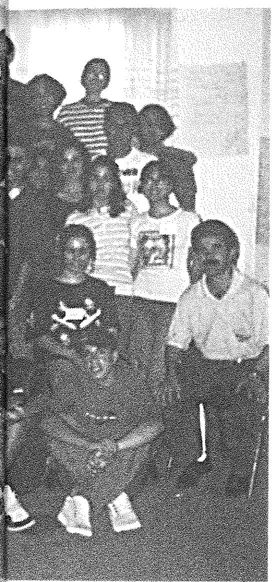
What follows are some articles written by some young participants of the YEP meetings where they express some of their thoughts concerning their experience.

THE FUTURE GOVERNORS OF CYPRUS

When a small child first meets with a foreigner, he or she wonders who the foreigner is, and feels sympathetic to this foreigner. This is becaµse it is human nature to know or to try to reach the unknown and unreachable things. For example, before going to European countries it seems unreachable but now it is not. It is same when I met with my Greek Cypriot friends. First, they all seem different to me but I felt sympathetic towards them. Think about Europe again, why it seems unreachable before going; because the people are different, the buildings are different because their culture and lifestyle are different. But we, as Cypriots, are all the same with our lifestyles, history, buildings, concerns and wishes. I admit that we look at some events from different perspectives but this is because of our religion and conditions that we are living in. But we should learn to live without problems and disagreements in this island. Because this is our island, it is impossible to deny our being Cypriot.

As a young person, without experience of living together with Greek Cypriots, I have heard too many things about them, their wishes and concerns. I have always believed that to make generalizations about a community is not correct. For instance, if two stupid boys kill each









other because of a dispute and if one of them is French and the other is British, does it mean that all French and British people are stupid? I mean we should meet with Greek Cypriots and to try to understand them. We should not be prejudiced.

What does Cypriot mean? In my perspective, Cypriots are people living in Cyprus so that it is not important whether they are Turkish or Greek. I admit our perspective of history and to different events is not same but as I mentioned above, this is because of the different experiences and different religions but in addition to these we have too many common things like lifestyles, culture and so on.

In these bicommunal meetings one can learn and can realize more about each other as Greek and Turkish Cypriots. The people that I met in these bicommunal meetings are so nice and polite to me and of course to the other Turkish Cypriot friends. In these bicommunal meetings the most important thing is to learn personally Turkish or Greek Cypriots and who they are, to realize the disagreements, to try to solve them through communication. These meetings make our communication skills develop and solve our problem without fighting and arguing. This country needs a change from a culture of fighting to a culture of peace so that people need education in the field of communication. In short, these bicommunal meetings also educate us.

Finally, as young people we need to learn too many things as the future governors of Cyprus, so we should be involved in these bicommunal meetings to develop our thoughts and to become mature enough to see the difference between right and wrong.

By Selen Mesutoglu YEP1

Dear brothers and sisters,

We are born in a divided country, - divided by the extreme nationalism of some narrowminded people - where encounters like the ones we are doing seemed impossible. But even though we are so young, even though from the time we were born we were bombarded by statements of the type "We are enemies!", we have managed to unite (in a way) our country again, by making these encounters come true.

I'm sure all of us children of Cyprus, we want our country to be united; to do this we must unite our hearts. I think we 've managed this. We are brothers and nobody, no ruler, no interest can keep us apart. We will continue these encounters, because we are brothers, children of the same motherland, we love each other, and we love our country, our small Cyprus. Some people have forgotten these facts, our sacred duty is to remind them.

Elena Hapeshi YEP 1
September '97.

Dear friends,

I am Aliki Michaelidou, one of your Greek Cypriot friends. When I heard for the first time about this meeting from my teacher Mr. Nicos Anastasiou, I was only interested in coming and finding what it was all about - nothing more. I didn't really know what it would be like meeting Turkish Cypriot teenagers. When we finally met and got to know some things about each other I felt no regrets for coming; in the contrary I was pleased. I realised that we are all young people with more or less the same interests and ideas. I 've learnt quite a few things I didn't know about the northern part of Cyprus. I liked and enjoyed meeting you and I surely hope this won't be the end of it. These meetings must continue in order for us to become friends and learn more about each other. I'm glad I belong to this group; the Y.E.P. 1.

With all my love
Aliki *YEP 1*

There had been many times in the last few months that I wanted to write about my experience but I just couldn't find the right words to express what I feel. It was last May when I found out about the meeting of the 7th and 8th of July. It was more curiosity, as well as, a feeling that I had to do something good for this island, that led me to go to Ledra Palace. It was really successful. The weird thing was, that I didn't feel these people as enemies but as some other teenagers of some other nationality. I didn't see them as the enemies that took my parents' home because this is really not the case. They didn't take our houses but were forced to take them because they were forced to leave their own houses. Our problem is really complicated and difficult to be solved because not all people believe the same things. I cannot understand sometimes how people have so much hatred inside them. Why? We are all people, living on a ball that moves around. We don't know even if we are going to die the next minute. Why, then, store so much hatred in our hearts? I can understand that many innocent people were killed and I really hate the people that did this to them. That's why sometimes I tend to stand back and say "I'm giving up all this. I just can't deal with it". But no, I can, and I have to go on. We have to go on, everybody, and get rid of the people on those so-called "high positions" that try to make us hate each other. Let 's just all live in a free world where everybody will do whatever he/she wants, try on their own for their better future, and love each other because we only live once. It's just a matter of logic, people!

Andri Fanou YEP 1

A SINI OF EKMEK KATAIF

By Yolanda Christodoulou

Dear Turkish Cypriot friends,
I am very glad that I have the chance to communicate with you through this letter, because ever since I was very young I felt that the root of the Cyprus problem was lack of communication between people of the two communities. I firmly believe that if we were given the chance to live together and communicate as human beings there would be no problem and we would live in harmony in this little island.

For as long as I can remember I was very curious to meet with the Turkish Cypriots and know those people who lived behind the barriers and in the secluded villages. I was excited (curiosity mingled with fear) when we used to pass through the picturesque village of Lefka - but it was forbidden to stop and talk to the people... I had to wait for many years to satisfy my curiosity. Now in the year 1996 I can speak of my first best Turkish Cypriot friend who comes from that very village. It took so long to meet the people from "the other side" and it was a very unique and pleasing experience.

Although, until very recently, I had never had the chance to meet with Turkish Cypriots, I had a positive attitude, which I suppose I took from my father. He had a small factory of aluminium and metal constructions very near the green line, and he used to employ some Turkish Cypriots even after 1963. He also had business dealings in the Turkish Cypriot part of Nicosia. I remember a large sini of ekmet kataif sent from a Turkish Cypriot friend of my father. This sini of ekmek kataif made a big impression on me for two reasons: firstly, because I have always been very fond of sweets... and, secondly, because it was sent by one of those "forbidden to meet people" who were also the "enemy".

I am a little ashamed to confess that the talk of the possibility war with this "enemy" during my childhood years did not make me really fearful but rather excited! I suppose it's because I didn't really know what war was. I enjoyed the "excursion" with my family back in 1963 to my uncle's village where we went for protection... Even in 1974 when I was sixteen years old, I saw the Turkish parachutists falling from the sky as a movie - I suppose that's because they weren't very near. It was much later that I realised what had happened - all the ugly stuff... That there were some sixteen year olds who had to experience the cruelty of war and meet with the revengeful "enemy" face to face.

Now I have a husband, a sixteen year old daughter and a twelve year old son. Now I am a mother and I know what is the pain of losing your loved ones. I can feel the pain of all those people - Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots - who lost loved ones in the years of violence... We have recently built a beautiful house with a large garden... and now I can share the feelings of all those refugees who want to go back...

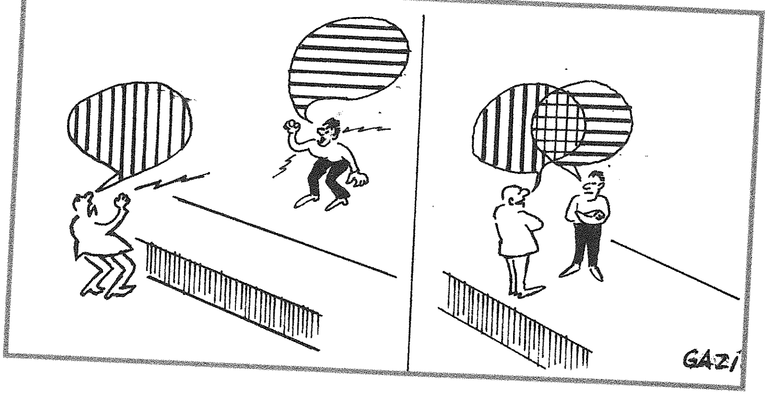
A philosopher from the orient once said: "This earth is the valley of pain and tears". Mankind learns through this pain. The question is if the Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots have learned anything from this pain - if they have found out the right teaching hidden behind the pain. I am afraid that the answer is negative for the majority of the people and unfortunately also for those people from both sides that have the political power in their hands.

Superficial minds come up with superficial conclusions. So the false conclusion was that we should avoid each other like the fire of hell! We, in effect, have been living separately for 33 years and the generation that lived together and had positive experiences in their relationships is becoming older and older. We are missing the opportunity to make our small island a peaceful place to live in because we continue to feed the monsters of hatred, distrust and discrimination.

We often hear that "What is done cannot be undone". True, but the important issue is what we are going to do now and in the future. I was very happy to meet with many Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots who believe that communication and good will must be the foundation of the solution to the Cyprus problem. I personally look forward to the emergence of new enlightened leaders who will dare to make the move towards reconciliation of the people.

I refer to "new" leaders because the old leaders are used to a certain fixed attitude. I would say they suffer from political arteriosclerosis. I would be very surprised indeed with any drastic change from their part. We can make Cyprus one happy island if we decide to see the whole situation in a new light. The people of Cyprus must find the way towards the realisation of this vision. Let us share together a huge sini of ekmet kataif...

Yours sincerely,
Yiolanda.



By George Sophocleous

DAUGHTER OF CYPRUS



Slow and uncertain, your footsteps led you a few dozen metres behind "your" barbed wire.
OK! The barbed wire is common to us all.
But up until that moment you certainly didn't know it or rather you didn't really understand it.
You had been told that the barbed wire protected you from the "enemies" - and, having no alternative, you believed that.
Timidly, you give me your hand, murmuring "glad to meet you" and your name. Not that it registered.
We stood in a circle, some twenty of us, all intermingling. Who is the "Turk", who is the "Greek", who is standing next to us, who is the one opposite, ... who is really the "enemy".
Last Wednesday of July, afternoon. Out, in the courtyard of Ledra Palace, suspended between two military posts, ours and those across, in a suffocating heat.
Mixed feelings ... we mingle the languages and the dialects. Prolonged agony in an attempt to communicate ... and embarrassment.
You stood discreetly in a corner, watching intently, anxious not to miss a word, not to miss a thing.
We then decided to go inside, to sit down and talk and get better acquainted.
The spacious room was half empty, stifling, impersonal. A sole table and a few chairs scattered here and there.
You sat next to me and with furtive, suspicious glances, you scanned the unknown faces, mine included.
The discussion started somewhat haltingly, with introductions first. You listened carefully to every name, labelling each one... "Turk", "Greek", "Muslim", "Christian". From names that is, for looks didn't really help. We all looked alike. What could you make out of looks?
I had been watching you all the while carefully. A young little face, clever, cute; same age as my daughter, both August-born. You said you wanted to meet her, talk to her, make friends with her.
All of a sudden you stood up; you went to the large window and leaned on the sill, gazing opposite, to "our side". Your beautiful young face darkened and there were tears in your eyes.
Oh, little girl, my daughter, that moment was for you as much as for me the moment of the great, bitter truth. The moment that the old rusty barbed wire irrevocably breaks our hearts.
I was at a loss, feeling guilty for everything and everyone. I was ashamed to look you in the eye.
A voice next to me brought me out of this terrible impasse: "Who is the kid?"
"I don't know! She may very well be the daughter of Cyprus. Each and every girl in our side or yours, paying the price for all that other people have done without asking them. I honestly don't know, I don't even remember her name. Call her "Daughter of Cyprus".

HADE

Our first meetings can be said to have been descent and friendly, even though we could not avoid a certain numbness and embarasment.
We believed in what we were doing. These were the first small doses of oxygen that would in sequence clean the year long polluted atmosphere.
At each meeting, we carried within ourselves, our thoughts and feelings in a secret, furtive fashion. Lest that we are heard, seen, by those others who eavesdrop on their side of the rusted barbed wire, brandishing above our heads Damocle's sword of authority.
And when the "enemies" shook hands, when the barbed wire became a pile of dust in front of our feet, a smile of hope began to flower on our worried faces.
It was no longer of any significance if those others were watching or not, if they noted our movements or if they disagreed on our conversing with the "enemy".
These things were soon overcome, and we opened up.
And then, we all said that we should marry "Peace" off, give her a chance. And we all became best men and brides mates at her wedding.
And, again all of us at once, decided that "Peace's" marriage should not remain barren.
And indeed. We had our first child, fruit of this spiritual group fertilisation.
Again, in one voice, we baptised it named it: HADE

TRAGEDY OF ROOTS AND SOILS

When a root is pulled out it feels remorse,
so does the soil separated from the root
and the tragedy of flesh and bones emerges;
however shaken, something will remain in the root
from the soil it has been pulled out,
and in the soil, capillaries will remain in the root.
From the flesh they've left in each other
the incurable cavity the root has left in the soil
is the wound the parting son has left in the mother,
this, because they're not wholly separable
and what remains of the soil in the root, is a souvenir
To the one parting
The root rots far away, while the soil keeps bleeding.
The wounds do bleed of the deserted and the pulled out;
in the son, something does remain of the place pulled out,
from the son, something does remain in the heart of the mother.

FIKRET DEMIRAG
Nicosia 27.7.1983

NICOSIA

Posters tug at my sleeve.
Slogans of then and now.
Flags of three colours.
And the sign, rusted,
22 years to remind me.
I owe you rent
Nicosia
You've kicked me to and fro
between church and minaret.
The schizophrenia
others call "occupation"
22 years
the schizophrenia of G and T
and the blind alley in the midst of beauty.
Nicosia.
Under the "Halt" sign I'll write
"I love you"
...and I shall leave you
alone
in your schizophrenia.
It's been 22 years

DEMETRIS TALIOTIS
Nicosia '96

Darkness
like the sun which shines
while you are walking alone in the streets
The streets that nowadays lead nowhere
The streets that end right on the border of pain
Half towns, half fields, half walls
in a half country
Silence
like discussions you can not have
while your friends are being "the other"
The other who, like you, feels, dreams, hopes, falls in love
The other who is there but you can not touch
Half hands, half memories, half thoughts
in a half body
Death
like the music you listen to while alone
like sorrows you can not express
while you stand naked on the beach
painting the hours of separation on the sand
counting the drops of peace
Half feelings, half smiles, half embraces, half orgasms
in half reunions
Life
like flowers welcoming the bees
like birds caressing the skies
like hands raising to reach the universe
while voices sing the song of the other
while lips kiss half forgotten eyes
while bodies make love on the earth of the whole.

MYROULA STEPHANIDES

OUR WALL

To Niyazi and Panicos
Look! I am just in the middle
ugly, protruded vertebras
of our humpback...
Your rusty, breakable bones
are crackling
under my feet...
You, I
and terrible searchlights
which are illuminating
the desolation's lie...
Look! I am alone on your back...
The people, who created you,
stayed rear and in front of me...
-They all together looking at their pains
they have inflicted on each other...-
Eyes blushed from shame
follow my haught shadow; I feel...
They look through bullet holes:
frightened and offensive...
Look! I am just in the middle
the one whose steel strong muscles shiver
and, black hairs like thorns
piercing your bloody back's flesh...
I heard your story
from a young man
who went to water his roses
by passport...
Look! We are alone...
Confess all and tell me...
Tell, who nourishes you?
Tell, how many flags do you serve,
how many people's vampires?

TAMER ÖNCÜL
9/7/1997 Ledra Palas

Turkish or Greek mother if I am
Little do I care about the difference
No more will I smell our honeysuckle
No more will I smell our jasmine
Where is our son's smile
Our husband's, our beloved's
Turkish or Greek mother if I am
Little do I care about the difference
Talk, instead, to our children
To our grandchildren, to our great-grandchildren
Show them how to take the flower from our heart
and let, thus, our jasmine bloom again
and let, thus, our honeysuckle bloom again

ANGELIKI MICHAEL

HERITAGE

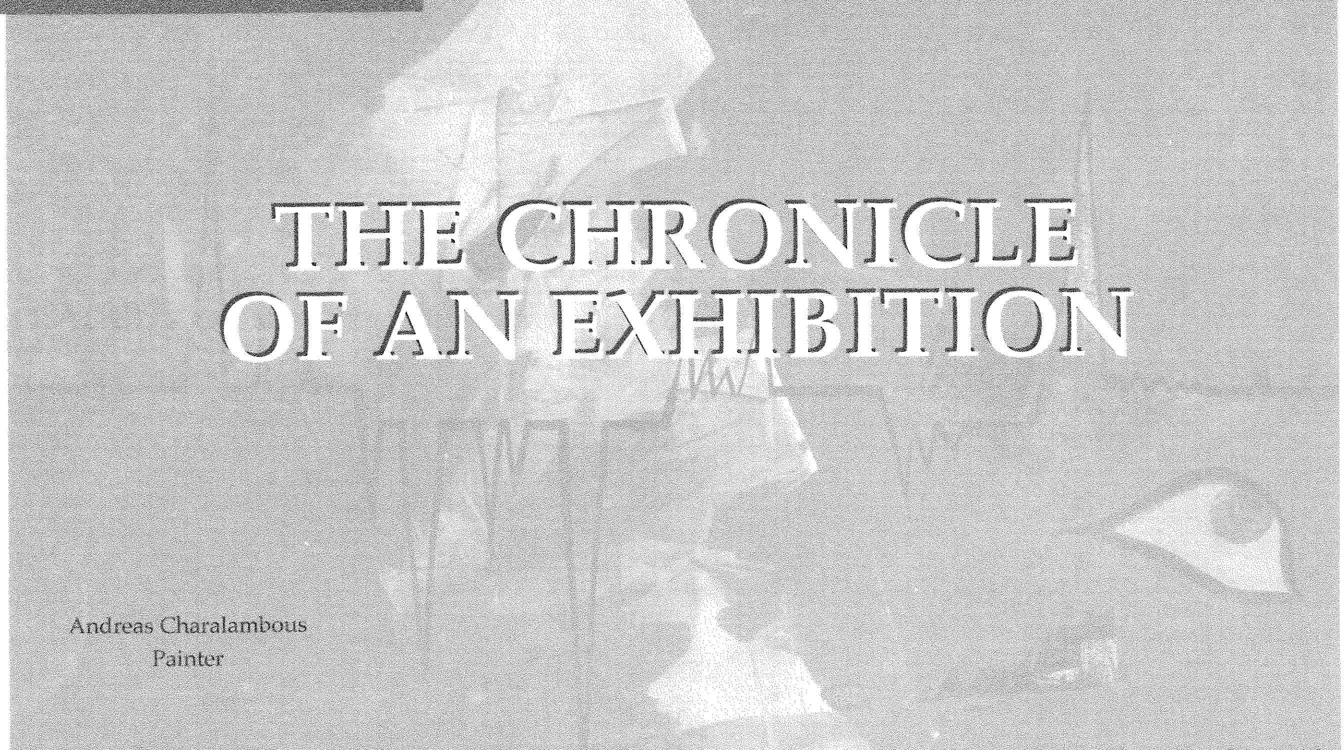
Every day I said
It can't be otherwise. Peace will come to our island too.
Thus I spoke yesterday. But the day passed and Peace did not come.
I used to say it often
The time is near when Peace will set foot on our island
Thus I spoke last week. But the week passed and Peace did not come.
Last month's Talks, I used to say, will bring Peace to our land.
But the Talks are over, the month is over and Peace did not set foot on our island.
I am one of those who always said
"No. It can't be otherwise. This year surely peace will come to us".
But this year is over, like many more, and still Peace did not come to this 'Our' Island.
But I am optimistic
One day it will surely come. It cannot but arrive
And then we must be ready to receive her
And then we must be mature enough to hold her with us for ever.
Because
This will be the heritage
to our and your children.

GEORGE SOPHOCLEOUS

WHEN THE EAGLES ARE TIRED

If you think that I have forgotten you
and if you think friendship fades slowly away...
while time descends its black curtains...
I saw a dream last night;
a breeze from the west of my country
touching my face...cool...
and shivering me like a leaf of a yellow rose.
It was a cool breeze but something inside of it;
like the warmth of a whisper...
flying slowly on my shoulders.
It was a dream;
I woke up and walked in a cloudless day
under the vivid sun;
somehow carrying a sorrow
and sometimes a scent of the sea.
If you think that I have forgotten you
and if you think that I am standing on the beach alone...
Someday come out of your door
come close to me
when the eagles are tired
and are not flying.

MEHMET KANSU



THE CHRONICLE OF AN EXHIBITION

Andreas Charalambous
Painter

The telephone call was from London. My dear old friend Mehmet Yasin asked me whether I would like to host an art exhibition in Varosia. It was undoubtedly an unexpected invitation. My answer was Yes, as if I was waiting for this question for 23 years. Definitely Yes. A joint exhibition with my friend and colleague Mehmet Ouloubatli, would be the first of its kind and it would actually open the Art Festival of the town, a festival which included also the following functions:

Aqua Levi and Roots Dimension (Reggae Music Concert)
Cartoons Exhibition by Valentin Rozantsen (Russia)
Theater from Bakirkoy
Concert by the Singer Yildiz Ibrahimova (Bulgaria)
Green Grapes (Music and Action) Dance Theater - Turkey
Art Fair
Art Meeting (Turkish Cypriot artists - writers' union)
Berlin art ensemble "Jazz"
Concert by Bulent Otracgil
Concert by "Los Paraguayos"
Concert by Ersen Şururi

The procedure for travelling to Varosia was not as difficult as I thought, and that because of the invitation I was presented with. I will not describe here my emotions the first time I crossed the "line". And if we were about to assume that we could describe with words the awakenings of the soul, a different article must be written, big enough to contain the magnitude, the dimension, the depth and the intensity of the feelings aroused throughout the route - the narrow streets of Nicosia, Kyrenia's gate (where as a kid starting off high school, I was passing riding my bicycle travelling to Bellapais and Kyrenia), Pempe's dry flower, the trip along Messaoria towards Varosia etc, etc.

The first time I went there was in order to see the site of the exhibition and therefore decide how many paintings I would take. Mehmet, Leyla, Asim, Kezban, Yusuf, Hasan, and all those working for preparing the Festival, but also the Mayor himself (with or without inverted commas), literally "steal your heart" with their genuine feelings of love, friendship, brotherhood and real Cypriot hospitality. Returning to Nicosia I passed through Salamina, Trikomo and Lefkoniko, full of memories and strong sentiments.

The second time I crossed the "line" was in order to take my paintings and prepare them for the Exhibition. I had decided to exhibit 16 paintings from the theme "Fullmoons 1995" and 5 other compositions, most of them large in size. The transportation had all the characteristics of an ancient Greek Comedy. A Greek-Cypriot truck carried the paintings to Ledra Palace. A Turkish-Cypriot truck carried them to Varosia. Load-unload, load-unload for a distance of a few kilometres in your own country. A procedure beyond logic. Earlier on Unficyp refused to offer any assistance, even to provide us with a truck to carry the paintings from my Workshop to Varosia. Anyway! At last we were in Varosia and thanks to the efforts, the will and the persistence of the Mayors' technician (whom I thank dearly), a satisfactory presentation took place, at a site which by far was not the ideal for those kind of functions. The airani offered to us, was a "cool and tasty assistance" in a long days effort.

On August 4th it was the opening day of the exhibition. Along with me, 8 relatives and friends would travel to Varosia. In addition, British Council had arranged a visit of Greek-Cypriot artists who were invited by their Turkish-Cypriot colleagues. At the end 25 people passed the "line" at 3:30 p.m. We were greeted by representatives of Turkish-Cypriot artists and we all walked through the narrow streets of the Turkish-Cypriot district in Nicosia. We ended up in an old glamorous house of the mid 19th century that belonged to a Pasha, something like Hadjigeorgakis' house which is now a Museum illustrating Cyprus' daily life during those years. Some other Turkish-Cypriot friends were also waiting for us. We were treated with something refreshing, presented with some souvenirs and then started off for Varosia, where we arrived only a few minutes before the opening ceremony of the exhibition.

What really happened there is hard to describe with words.

I have never seen so many people in an opening ceremony. There must have been around 500 people of all social classes - artists, doctors, archeologists, even ordinary workers. Embracements and kisses, with people I never met before, people that had only a good word to say to me, people who were trying very hard to hide their tears, most of the time unsuccesfully.

"Allah must do something now, because in a few years there will be no Turkish-Cypriots to live together". Allah and Us.

Art became a bridge of communication.

Art - an international language that knows no barriers.

Art - a superior expression of peace, is itself the wise teacher of peace. It exists as a result of opposites, of light and shadow, of hot and cold, upgrading those opposite notions in the ultimate harmony, like nature itself or like any other form of life.

If only all those who are responsible for the fate of the People of Cyprus could understand what would come out through the amalgamation of different religion, nationality and language - a perfect harmony, the most beautiful flower in the world - peace, creation and progress. If they could only put aside the "wooden" nationalistic and chauvinistic approaches which are nothing more than weapons of destruction, and move on to another approach, based on life and creation, Cyprus could turn into a bridge of peace and a cultural and economic center of the Eastern Mediterranean basin.

After many interviews to newspapers, TV and radio stations, we were treated to lunch by the friendly and hospitable Mayor and then all together, watched the concert given at the beach by Aqua Levi and Roots Dimension. My request during my three goings there, was to go and visit my mother's house in Bella-Pais, a request that could not be fulfilled. Nevertheless the efforts of all my friends and especially my friend's Octay did not cease. After we were presented with a special invitation, me and Demetris Andreou, a well known journalist, drove with the Mayor's car to Kyrenia-Bellapais-Kyrenia, (no we did not have any fish) and back to Varosia. Exhibition-Hospitality.

I will not put on paper my impressions, since it is a subject for a different article.

My fifth and final visit there was in order to bring back my paintings.

The exhibition was over.

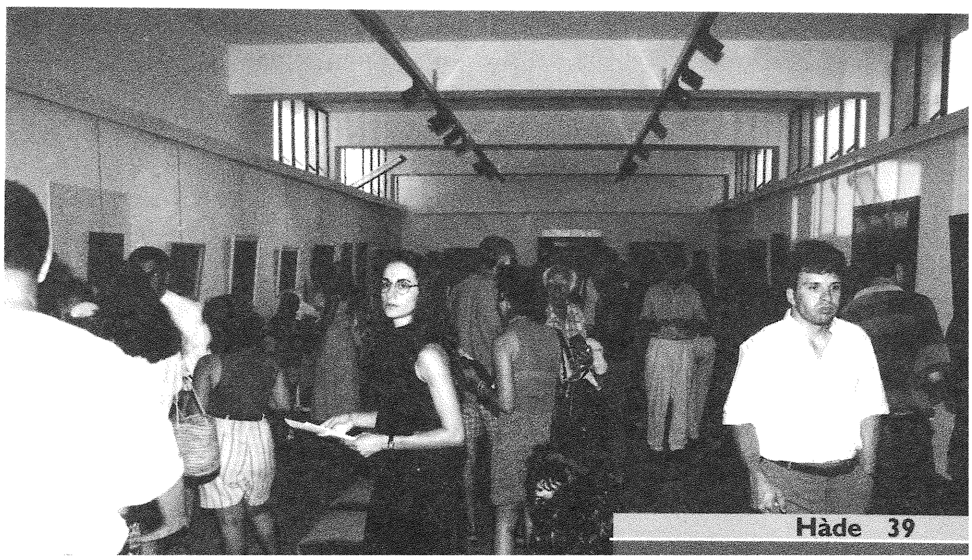
I believe it succeeded. Mostly because it showed that by ourselves, without any help by third ones, we can achieve a lot. The tree of a bi-communal friendship of ONE country divided by force, is starting to grow again.

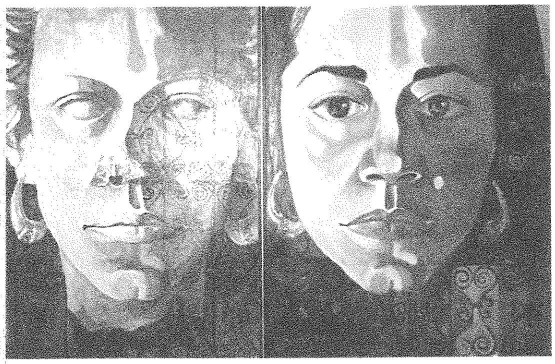
With struggle, strain and continuous effort, it can flourish and give fruits.

And those fruits are nothing more than Coexistence, Peace, Brotherhood, Progress.











GREEN LINE: A PAINTING EXHIBITION BY PETER BARRON AND ELENI PAPANICOLAOU

Impressions by Neshe Yashin

There is something in-between us. Something that prevents us to touch each other. There is a line, a limit to our freedom. There is something that stops us. There is a line on the map. A cruel line which brings frustration, which forbids us to love each other and instead tells us to fear each other.

This is our Green Line. A no-man's land created by men. This is a place men created against men. This is a dead zone where some things persist to live. A place where houses speak instead of the people. The voice of a house is very thin but art can hear a house speak. The pain we feel becomes a colour, a figure in the painting. The curves of the gate start talking to us from Eleni's paintings. The curves point toward us the inclination to connect. Perhaps this is a story which belongs to our childhood. The soft curves facing and opposing each other, the gentleness and a touch from the past where houses hid shared secrets lead to a gate that stands on our way and we look sadly from behind.

It is a place for old and deserted houses where you feel that deep longing and a hurting injustice. Green Line is perhaps an in-between where you feel stretched towards both ends, in a place where you face the choice of "either or" and you stay startled and helpless.

When I made my own journey through the images created from this magical place by the two artists, Eleni and Peter, I came to a gate whose key is lost and where I stared through the mystery. I felt this deep longing to go there and find the secret heaven. Find a past memory that persists in my mind. This forbidden place gave me the urge to disobey and discover its secrets.

I kept staring at the curves that try to touch each other but are divided. The curves that unite and form a sensual canvas moved me. This was something that we believe is so near to us, so reachable yet so unattainable. This is the experience we feel at times when we are so near to reach something yet at that very moment we lose it. Past is where we left some things unfinished. Past is where there were moments that we had to say some words or not to say them but it is already gone and has been recorded in some memory. It stays there torturing us mercilessly and can not be erased easily. The past lives in a deserted house. In a house abandoned by its inhabitants for a certain reason. Their shadows are still moving around the rooms. Traces of their existence persist to stay. When we listen through the ear of our hearts we can hear their voices.

Eleni and Peter looked through the place with an artist's eye and found some details which will multiply in our imagination. I think art goes beyond all political understandings by bringing the details which deepens the meaning of existence. All artistic forms and figures can become signifiers for more complex meanings. They can tell a variety of different stories.

A detail in these paintings can take you back to the cold nights of childhood. This is a journey to the secret teardrops that make the cushion wet and a journey to fears coming from the merciless day time of the cruel world. Childhood is perhaps first of all a house; the first figure children tend to draw when they first start drawing pictures. A house is the place where windows that are decorated with laced curtains by mothers open to bright sunshine. And the mysteries of the world grow inside the child's soul in this house. A house is something much more than walls. A house is a celebration of past lives. A house is a mother, an embrace, a lullaby still whispering to our ears from the past. A house is a connection between generations. And they stand quietly on the Green line and tell us sad stories. Perhaps that's why we are so much attracted by deserted houses.

The deserted houses give the urge to people to make them speak. Perhaps that's why people tend to do graffiti on these places.

Graffiti is the art of the streets where words conquer the walls and they shout in silence. Making graffiti is the need to write and make others know. The need to exist and to be part of a town. The need to be approved by others and resist the deafness of walls. The need to be seen.

What Eleni and Peter bring us with their paintings from the green line is the secret and shame we share all together.

The Green line is there in-between us. This feeling of the Green Line is prevailing in the whole city. We don't have to see it every day. We don't have to face the barrels, see the barbed wire every day. We breathe it in every district of the city. It is in the air, it is part of the atmosphere. It is an invisible influence on our daily moods. It is death and fear lying in- between us.

I think it is a brave effort to enter this very crucial part of our lives and work with the details which are deeply embedded in our unconscious. Peter and Eleni searching for the figures in this specific space were, of course, looking for their own artistic images and what they have come up with could very easily be part of our own experience. The subjective can have a multiplying effect and I think that is partly what art is all about. Eleni and Peter are reflecting upon us their own Green line with their forms and colours. Green line is no longer a place but it is a perception, a feeling an individual experience. Through their experience they reach to us and we meet and unite with them and relive our own experiences in front of their paintings. The symbols of our daily life become a piece of art. We realize by surprise that our individual experiences are also depicted there. Some things that only we are aware of- a secret between the painting and us is there.

When I visited their studio and saw their paintings for the first time I lived my own secret experience. The curves of the gate carried me many years back to bitter and sweet childhood experiences. The deserted houses brought me a chain of memories and the graffitti talked to me in a very special voice. All the forms and colours talked to me. This was a secret language that does not have an ethnic origin. It was the language of art that transcends borders, divisions and green lines.

NEVE-SHALOM WAHAT AS SALAM
THE OASIS OF PEACE

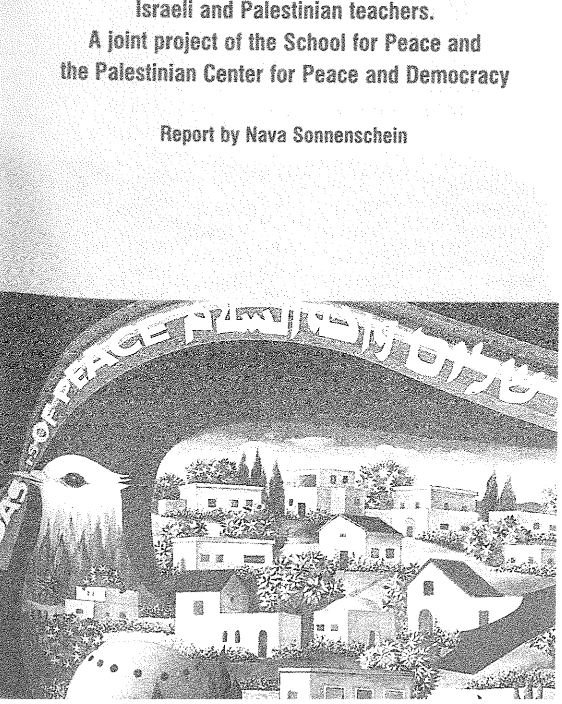
Neve Shalom/Wahat al-Salam is a cooperative village of Jews and Palestinian Arabs of Israeli citizenship. Situated equidistant from Jerusalem and Tel-Aviv-Jaffa, Neve Shalom/Wahat al-Salam was founded in 1972 on 100 acres of land leased from the adjacent Latrun Monastery. In 1977 the first family came to reside here. By 1996, 26 families had settled in the village. The members of Neve Shalom/Wahat al-Salam are demonstrating the possibility of coexistence between Jews and Palestinians by developing a community based on mutual acceptance, respect and cooperation. Democratically governed and owned by its members, the community is affiliated with no political party or movement. Neve Shalom/Wahat al-Salam gives practical expression to its vision through various branches. These include the nursery, kindergarden, primary school and the School for Peace.

The latter was established in 1979 as Neve Shalom/ Wahat al-Salam's foremost institution for outreach educational work. Through a variety of courses and seminars for many strata of Jewish and Palestinian society, the School for Peace works to heighten awareness towards the complexity of the conflict and improve understanding between Palestinians and Jews through educational methods.

What follows is a report by Nava Sonnenschein of a meeting between Israeli and Palestinian Teachers. There are striking similarities between the situation described here and the one in Cyprus. The peace builders' dilemmas, the resistance in both sides to "contacts with the enemy," the pain, the moments of despair, the hope...it is all there...

One day after a meeting of a teachers' course for Israeli and Palestinian teachers.
A joint project of the School for Peace and the Palestinian Center for Peace and Democracy

Report by Nava Sonnenschein



I had in mind to write about one of the many projects that took place in 1996. But upon coming back today (March 28, 1997) from a third meeting of Israeli and Palestinian teachers, I thought it may be important to share and pass on some of the feelings, emotions and dilemmas that we encounter in our daily work of meetings between Palestinians and Israelis.

I came back with worries and concerns for the future of the relations and the agreements between the two peoples. It was not the meeting itself, but the very difficult reality that was reflected in it and in the things people said. The meeting took place in a difficult atmosphere, with a feeling in the air that we are at the end of the Oslo process; that the Agreements have no future.

The course itself is a historical experience of on-going mutual work with Palestinian and Israeli teachers - twenty teachers from each side. The participants who chose to take part in the work took upon themselves a long-term commitment while most of their peoples still have little contact. For the majority of the participants this is their first meeting on an equal basis, if they had any previous experience of the other side it was as occupying soldiers on one side, and occupied residents, on the other.

The Israeli group came from five high schools in Israel: Brenner, Tzafit, Gonen, Kedma and Ma'alot. The Palestinian group came from various high schools in the PA and the occupied territories: Abadin, Aziz-Shahin in Aroura, The Orthodox School and the Jordanian School in Ramallah and Al-bira.

The course will continue for over a year, in several stages. The first stage is experiential and in the next stages the participants are given the assignment of planning and implementing a program for their schools.

The first two meetings of the course took place in NS/WAS. Following these the group decided to meet in the PCPD offices in Ar-ram. This was the meeting that took place yesterday and today.

About two weeks before the meeting relations between Israel and the Palestinians became very difficult. Israeli bulldozers began to work in Jabel Abu Gneim (Har Homa) and a bomb exploded in a Tel-Aviv cafe. Some of the Israeli teachers are afraid to come and we talk to them on the telephone. In the SFP staff there is also discussion about postponing the meeting in the current situation. Ahmad and myself consult over the phone with Hilda and Nasif, the directors of the PCPD. They check with the Palestinian participants and find out that most of them would like to have the meeting anyway, regardless or maybe because of the tense situation. In the end we go to Ar-ram with the Israeli group. Most of the participants show up despite their anxiety. All the Palestinian group is present.

The people are all loaded with emotions and determination to go on with the project, not to give up. As one of the Israeli teachers said: "We are in total chaos, hardly representing ourselves. I learned so much here, I didn't know in what a world they are living. I am so upset, I ask myself - where are we? What should we do? I am trying to hold on to sanity, to build something."

There is a fear that everything will evaporate soon. In the first session the group is like a small boat in a sea of despair, trying to rise above it. One of the Palestinian teachers describes the situation, the rage and disappointment that are accumulating in the occupied territories. One of

the Israelis is trying to convince him not to despair, to hold on to some hope about the agreements. Another Israeli teacher describes her feeling after the bomb attack, and a Palestinian teachers says: "I don't know where all this is heading. We must act and not just talk. The situation is so bad. In the Intifada it was better; at least we felt we are acting for change. I want you to support my struggle because the situation must change. Israel is locking us up, taking our lands and nothing is changing - and it keeps getting worse." An Israeli teacher answers him: "I will support your struggle if you work against the bomb attacks. The bomb attack in Tel Aviv was hurtful for us but it hurts you too, very much." The first session ends on a high emotional level.

In the break everyone eats together in the large dining room and afterwards there is a lecture by Dr. Sami Adwan about the teachings of Paulo Freire. In the lecture we sit in rows in a big room, like a classroom. The lesson is interesting and a lively talk is conducted. Afterwards an Israeli teacher says about the experience: "I enjoyed learning together, with a Palestinian lecturer. It was a very positive and exciting experience".

At night, after the lecture, the groups break up. The Israelis go back to sleep in NS/WAS and the Palestinians in Jafna. The situation does not allow for the groups to sleep in the same place, as in the earlier meetings.

The next day the work in the groups continues and focuses on Freire's teachings and its connection to the teachers' reality. The dilemmas that arise in the Palestinian side concern the possibility to develop critical thinking in a situation where it is forbidden to bring political subjects to the class, and the risks that should be taken. The Israelis describe the freedom they have to discuss political subjects. (This kind of competition, such as over who is the more democratic and liberal, is typical to the conflict. But it is problematic, since the group which represents the occupiers criticizes the limited freedom of the occupied group).

The more important question that arises is how much, in any given situation, we as educators develop critical thinking. The Israeli teachers share subjects they do not dare to touch, as they are taboo in Israeli society. For instance, relations between Eastern and Western Jews, Post-Zionism, the conduct of the Jews in Israel during the holocaust. It is clear that the reality experienced by these educators of the two sides is very different.

In the next session the process continues. The Palestinian teacher who spoke in the previous session turns to the Israeli teacher who had answered him and says: "I have been thinking about what you said yesterday. As a matter of fact, when the bomb attack took place in Tel Aviv, there were students in my class who were glad. I had a difficult role. I know we both worried that one of you might be there. I fought many years against the occupation and have been in prison twice as a result. But today I think this is not the right way, and I said so to my students. This is a switch we have all made - the whole generation who took part in the Intifada".

The group listens closely. There are many responses from the Israeli side and the participants thirstily drink in everything that is said. Despite all of the difficulties, there is a lot of investment in the dialogue. There is an attempt to conclude the meeting on an optimistic note: we want to do something as educators; we have a direction.

The meeting takes place in impossible conditions. The talks outside have stopped. Should we hold meetings in these conditions? As facilitators we face many other dilemmas:

How do we bridge between differences in motivation and in the expectations that each side brings to the meetings? The Palestinians want action; want to discuss future relations; want to change the situation. The Israelis want a process that will enable them to work on themselves. The differences in motivation reflect the different situations of each side.

How do we deal with pain and trauma that are so fresh?

How do we ourselves avoid being sucked into the despair we feel inside us?

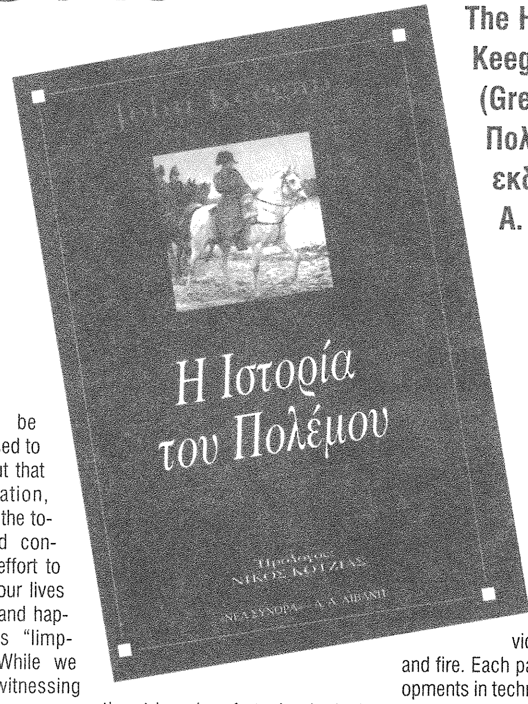
Will we succeed in the long-run to facilitate the right conditions for a meaningful dialogue between the sides?

The answer to whether we should continue this work despite the breakdown in relations on the outside, is probably that we should, as long as the two sides are willing. The commitment of educators who take part in the work is a source of encouragement, and perhaps of hope.

While this material is being printed, I met with the teachers from the Brenner school in order to help prepare their school program. I am told that during the Passover holiday the teachers initiated a meeting with the Ramallah group and cooperative plans are being discussed.



REFLECTIONS ON WAR AND PEACE



The History of Warfare by John Keegan, 1993. (Greek edition: Η Ιστορία του Πολέμου του Τζον Κίγκαν, εκδόσεις "ΝΕΑ ΣΥΝΟΡΑ" - Α. Α. ΛΙΒΑΝΗ, ΑΘΗΝΑ 1997).

By Sotos Syzinos

The ideas expressed in this article/book review began to be formed in my mind during those terrible days of the summer of 1974 and were completed while reading the book "The History of Warfare" by John Keegan (1993). He was for many years professor of Military History in the Royal Military Academy of Sandhurst and is currently correspondent on defence matters for the Daily Telegraph.

I hope that the experience of the phenomenon of war in 1974 was the last one for our country. It was that indescribable feeling of absolute fear in the presence of calamity itself and the feeling of the presence of an invisible threat in the faces of people. In war everything happens so quickly and dynamically that one's whole being paralyses, one reacts like a hunted animal and almost abdicates one's very right for life. As we have recently witnessed in former Yugoslavia and Central Africa for children and teenagers the experience of a war is catalytic: it determines in various degrees their future development as adults with often disastrous influences on the social tissue.

For many years now I often ask myself: "Why do we human beings fight against each other, go to war and kill each other?" War is not a simple easy affair. It requires immense preparatory efforts on two levels. Firstly, in terms of amassing armaments which involves huge sums of money unproductively invested while they could be spent on infrastructure projects and generally for the improvement of living standards. Secondly, and more importantly, there is a need to prepare the minds and consciences of thousands and millions of people and to convince them to be prepared to kill or even to be killed during the battle against the "enemy" whom they usually do not even know.This second preparation also involves huge monetary costs in order to set up a value system that promotes this idea. The problem is that in preparing the "accounts" there is no attempt made to "measure" the cost in moral terms, in terms of the direct and indirect victims of war of the pain and bitterness that settles in the souls of those who survive for the rest of their lives.

Having said all this and since the war is so "expensive" (in fact it is dramatically inexpedient), since the only ones who benefit from it are some unbalanced leaders and the war merchants, how then can we explain the insistence of people to go to war? Why is it that while in everyday life the tolerance to those who are different, the effort to approach the "other" even for ulterior motives is a common and worldwide phenomenon there comes a moment that all this "logical" structure is overturned and man's animal instincts come to the surface? Why is it that human societies have always lived and died with war in its various forms?

Suppose for a moment that we put aside the "accounting" side of war (how much it costs, how much we get out of it, is it profitable or not?) and we focus on the inner power in us that embodies the logic of war and violence beyond any material gains. We will then be surprised to find out that civilisation, that is the total and continual effort to make our lives better and happier, is "limping". While we are witnessing the triumph of technological progress and the harnessing of the power of nature, at the same time spiritual progress lacks behind allowing for the appearance of phenomena like nazism and, more recently, the war in ex Yugoslavia. We therefore become witnesses of a situation where "civilised" people are killing each other all over the world while little progress is made in promoting non-violence, peace and the elimination of confrontation and aggression. How can we understand this phenomenon? How can we bridge the huge gap between technological and moral progress? A classic example and symbol of this tragic dimension is the nuclear threat (which is still present despite the end of the cold war) which embodies in an absolute way this contradiction.

The ability to choose is part of the natural order. The ability to take what we want is something completely different which is not always given to us. The case of peace and war is a good example. If someone from the time of his birth keeps hearing about the "others" who are "barbarians" and inferior beings which pose a threat to "us" the "civilised" and superior, it is quite natural that, even he does not become a fanatic "anti-other", he will keep inside him a strong element of suspicion against these "others". From the moment that this way of thinking becomes acceptable we abdicate our right to choose and we are well on course for disaster. Given that this situation is based on the very powerful and primitive instinct of survival and self-preservation it is very difficult to confront it with wishful thinking or acts of desperation.

The only way out of this apparently hopeless situation is a different culture which may be a far away dream, but it is nevertheless necessary in order to preserve the hope than some day the tree of peace will take root and will bear fruit in every corner of the earth. We need a culture of peace where we will learn from a young age to respect life to behave peacefully and to radiate love.

The book "The History of Warfare" provides a serious contribution in this direction. In its 676 pages there is a strong thesis of the irrationality of war. The approach of the author is historic and also psychosocial as he deals with the inner world of the warriors of the various epochs. The book is divided into four parts: stone, flesh, iron and fire. Each part corresponds to the relevant developments in technology and the tactics of warfare from 8,000 BC till today. The ancient Greek phalanx, the horsemen of the steppes, the bow and the discovery of gunpowder are analysed as some of the important stages of these developments. One is surprised with the information given concerning the "ceremonial" war in some primitive societies where the victim takes part in the sacrifice willingly, there is a relative respect for life and war is not always aiming at the complete destruction of the adversary.

If the famous Prussian army officer and writer on war issues Care von Clausewitz was alive today he would undoubtedly find himself in a difficult position. His main thesis that "war is the continuation of politics with other means" is rejected in the pages of this book especially with regards to nuclear war which destroys the life of the "victor" as well. The main question that John Keegan tries to answer is seemingly quite simple: "What is war?" By the end of the book, after an engrossing journey in time, the author hopes to "have cast doubt to the belief that there is one simple answer to this question or that war has only one nature". Furthermore, he argues that "politics must continue but war cannot. This does not mean that the role of war is over. The world community needs, more than it has ever needed, capable and disciplined soldiers who are ready to make themselves available to the service of the authorities. Such soldiers must be considered as protectors of civilisation and not its enemies. The way in which they fight for civilisation - against nationalistically intolerant, regional warmongers, ideologically intransigent, common thieves, internationally organised criminals - cannot be derived from the western model of war. The guardians of the peace of the future and the peacemakers have a lot to learn from the alternative military civilisations not only from the East but also from those of the primitive era. There is wisdom in the principles of spiritual restraint and even in the symbolic ceremony which needs to be rediscovered. There is even greater wisdom in rejecting that war and politics belong in the same order of things. If we do not continue to reject this, then our future, like the future of the last inhabitants of the islands of Easter, may belong to people with blood in their hands".

These are the last sentences of the book, a bitter hymn to Peace that begins from the first page plays unremittingly in all the rest. It is a book so full with information and messages that citing a few quotes would not be enough to fully understand it. The best option for those who truly love life is to study it.

MOLOHIA

If you tell any Turkish Cypriot that Molohiya is originally an Egyptian food he or she would be very surprised. Another thing that would surprise a Turkish Cypriot is the fact that it is not so popular with the Greek Cypriots. For a Turkish Cypriot Molohiya is the most Cypriot dish.
This is a plant, which grows very tall and has a lot of small green leaves. During the season you can see women sitting on their chairs in front of their houses with huge piles of molohiya and picking their leaves. (A process which might go on for days). Part of these leaves could be cooked fresh but most of them are dried and stored in cloth bags to be used the whole year.
Whichever part of the world you are living if you are a Turkish Cypriot you should have a molohiya sac in your kitchen. Molohiya is a very valuable present for the Turkish Cypriot Diaspora. Heathrow airport British customs officers were in the beginning very annoyed about those strange sacs of grass appearing almost in every luggage belonging to Turkish Cypriots.
After detailed laboratory checks dear molohiya was declared honest and this brought a deep relief to everybody.



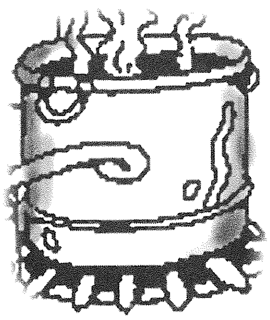
HOW TO COOK
Ingredients:
Dry molohiya leaves (A palmful for each person)
Pieces of lamb meat or chicken
Onions
Garlic
Grinded tomatoes or tomato paste
Lemons
Put oil in the casserole and after heating it a little add the thinly cut onions. When onions become pinkish add the meat or the chicken pieces and fry them a little. Add grinded tomatoes and some water and wait until it boils. Add the molohiya leaves and the lemon juice. Garlic pieces and salt should be added sometime before the food is ready.

AVGOLEMONO

The most popular Soup for all ages all the year round!
Avgolemono in Greek means "egg and lemon" and is indeed the most popular soup among the Greek-Cypriot community.
Although is mostly prepared and enjoyed during the Winter, Avgolemono Soup has its place on the table nearly all the year round.
What makes it so popular?
The fact that is easy to prepare and in no more than 20 minutes, ingredients are very easy to find and most of all it can be kept in the refrigerator for days.
When you feel like eating it, you just take it out of the refrigerator and re-heat it.
Avgolemono Soup has a special place in the Greek-Cypriot culture.
At Easter Day, the major religious celebration for the Greek Orthodox, all members of the family join in together to celebrate, and Avgolemono is their first dish. Avgolemono is also served during Christmas Day, after the family returns from the church.
Even today, Avgolemono may very well escort dishes of any cuisine.
It can also be found in all major restaurants, no matter how exquisite they might be.

Avgolemono has many friends, no matter how young or old you might be!
Taste it as it is, or dip in with a slice of bread!
After you have tasted it, I am sure it will be the Soup you would just love to eat very day!
Easy to make, Hard to forget!

INGREDIENTS
1 Ω Cups of Rice
4 Cups of Water
1 Maggi Chicken Stock or Pieces of Chicken (You can also use pieces of liver, lamb or beef.)
Juice of 2-3 Lemons
2 Eggs
Salt
Pepper
Parsley (optional - chopped very fine)



INSTRUCTIONS
Boil the Water, adding 1 Maggi Chicken Stock or the Pieces of Chicken.
Add the Rice and bring to the boil. Reduce heat to simmer. Add water if needed. Taste the rice to suit your taste. Remove the pan but do not let the broth get cold.
Beat the 2 Eggs and add the Lemon Juice. Stir vigorously. Add Salt and Pepper.
The Secret for a successful Avgolemono!
SLOWLY mix about one cup of the hot broth into the egg-Lemon mixture stirring constantly (do not forget to stir constantly). SLOWLY add the mixture to the Soup, stirring constantly.
Add the parsley!
Your Avgolemono is ready.
Enjoy!
Serves Six

HADE IS UNITING OLD FRIENDS AND HELPING TO FIND NEW ONES
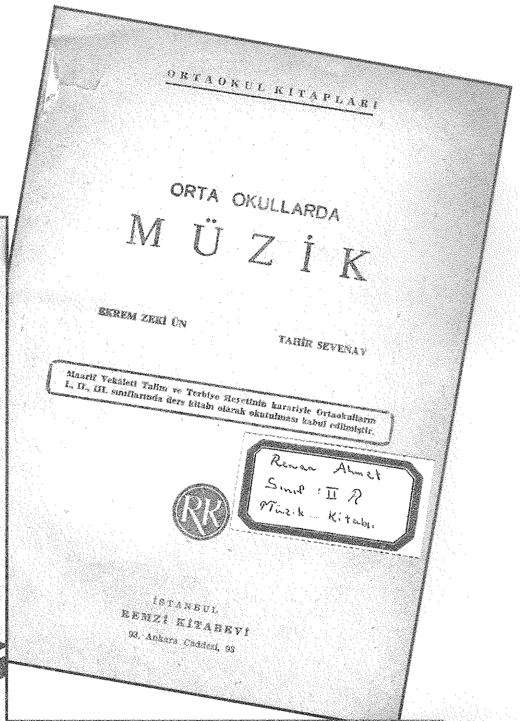
As Hade team we have created a page for you to put any kind of announcements you like. We have created this page in response to the strong need to build links and bridges between the individuals of the two communities.

WHAT COULD BE IN THIS PAGE:

*Announcements to find old friends
*Announcements to find pen friends
*Announcements to form new bi-communal groups
*Announcements to get help and information on certain research subjects
*Any kind of other announcements

We already have some examples.

Echo Arts- Living art centre, 4B Miaouli str. Agios Dhometios 2368 Nicosia, Fax:357 2 777046 is looking for Turkish Cypriots who are involved in modern dance. Please contact.





RENAN AHMET
your Music book was found in a house in Limassol.
Please contact Adonis Florides, tel: 05-383483 (Limassol) or write directly to the magazine.



*This photograph was taken on the **22 February 1974** in PHOTO NONIS (ΦΩΤΟ ΝΩΝΗΣ) in Morfou.*
The Greek Cypriot boy (now a young man) in the photograph, if you happen to be reading our magazine please contact us. Your photograph is with us and we want to give it to you.

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF HADE

1. To create better channels of communication between the two communities.

2. To contribute to the creation of a people based peace movement that rejects the "military option" in the search for a solution to the Cyprus problem.

3. To provide a platform where citizens of the island can communicate their political views directly to members of the other community including Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots in other countries. In particular, we hope to create a forum where the two communities can creatively engage in a dialogue concerning the nature of a future federal solution.

4. Facilitate better co-ordination between the various groups and organisations that are in favour of increasing bi-communal contacts and co-operation.

5. To promote and publicise the activities and projects of the various bi-communal groups.

6. To facilitate rapprochement of the older generation.

7. To facilitate approachment of the new generation.

8. To make each community more sensitive and aware of the fears, concerns and needs of the other community.

9. To make each community aware of the pain and suffering that the other has endured.

10. Make known how peace-builders in other conflict ridden parts of the world are working, the problems they are facing, the similarities and differences with the conflict in Cyprus and so on.

11. Provide space for alternative history writing.

12. Provide an environment for working and producing together.

13. Promote a change in attitudes and contribute to establishing a peace culture within and between the two communities.

14. To provide space for creative cultural and artistic expression.